

The Nation

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THURSDAY, JULY 19, 1894.

Harper's Magazine

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 19, 1894.

The Week.

THE collapse of the strike is not the most important development of the week. Transcending this in significance is the demonstration that such a strike can never again be so formidable in this country. The issue has been made in the sharpest possible way. As Senator Platt of Connecticut said, in his admirable little speech sustaining Mr. Cleveland's course:

"Mr. President, we are confronted with one supreme question, and that is, Who is President of the United States, and whether we have any United States? The question is, whether the person whom we elected to be our chief executive is the chief executive of the United States, or whether the man who calls himself President Debs is the President and chief executive of the United States."

It is now universally recognized that such a strike as Debs ordered is a rebellion, and that the people of the United States will promptly suppress rebellion. There will always be men like Debs, greedy of notoriety and crazy to show their power, but this country "will not stand any nonsense" from such people in future. The next upstart who orders the laboring men of the land to make a national boycott will fare about the same way as a man down South who should propose that his section secede from the Union.

The prompt indictment of Debs by the federal grand jury, and his equally prompt arrest, lost something of their force through his securing bail and through his trial being put off till October. This, however, is but a necessary result of the careful protection which the law throws about the rights of accused persons. Still, the fact of the arrest of the head conspirators, the swift measures taken to collect overwhelming evidence against them, and the practical certainty that they will be convicted in due time, with a possible sentence to follow of \$5,000 fine and imprisonment at hard labor for six months, could but have an immediate and powerful effect. Debs under indictment and in the shadow of the prison could not palm himself off as a Dictator much longer. Dictators who are dictated to by judge and jury have something hollow about them. Not even a Populist Governor will be so poor as to do such a Dictator reverence. In short, the demonstration that there is still a court, and that its process can run even in the awful presence of Debs, serves the great purpose of reducing him to the ranks of mortal men. Once seen to be there, he can no more wear his Olympian dignity with such éclat.

The uncompromising endorsement of the President which was given by the Senate on Wednesday week is something almost unprecedented. Such flat-footed utterances are seldom to be had from any political body. The usual thing is such a good-Lord good-Devil deliverance as that of the Minnesota Republicans on the same day, condemning the "wanton destruction of property" and calling for the "suppression of mob violence at all hazards," but also favoring "such legislation" as will compel employers to arbitrate their differences, whether they want to or not. A similar nullifying amendment was urged in the Senate to Mr. Daniel's original resolution, but, strange to say, it was voted down by a large majority. For this result thanks are due to the vigorous stand of Senator Platt of Connecticut, who, insisting that the only issue before the Senate was whether Debs or the President was the chief executive of this nation, protested against letting in anything about arbitration at all. This view prevailed, even Senator Sherman standing up squarely for approval of the President and condemnation of the mob.

Senator Sherman suffered the full penalty for his recent astonishing utterances in regard to the Pullman boycott when, on Tuesday week, Peffer took him to his bosom, with tears of joy and surprise, as an ally. "I was delighted, as well as surprised, the other day," said Peffer, "at the distinguished Senator from Ohio (Mr. Sherman) offering a resolution for Congress to overhaul the Pullman-car business. I was surprised and delighted at such a resolution coming from such a source at such a time." The sane and orderly portion of the public was also surprised at "such a resolution coming from such a source," but no one except Peffer has expressed delight over it. It is no slight calamity for a statesman with a reputation for intelligence to have Peffer approach him with extended arms and protestations of affection, and there are few Senators who would not flee at the first sign of such an embrace. While there may be some sympathy for Mr. Sherman in the disaster that has thus befallen him, nobody can say that he has been punished beyond his deserts. He took his position with full knowledge of what he was doing, and if he finds himself standing in the Senate alone with Peffer, at the moment when other Senators are vying with each other in indignant denunciation of Peffer's incendiary ranting, he has only himself to blame.

The House will not win a reputation for vigor and courage by going valiantly

to war after peace has been declared. Its resolution of Monday endorsing the action of the President in putting down mob violence would have done a great deal of good if adopted a fortnight ago. When the crisis was actually on, the House was silent as the grave, and the members were saying to the reporters, "For Heaven's sake don't interview us on this question." They were filled then with the cowardice of their own lack of convictions. Now that the battle has been won, they discover that they were mighty men of valor all the while, and that it was simply an oversight which had prevented them from lifting up their voices before. The President and the country would have been helped by a strong deliverance from Congress when the emergency was upon us; now that it is past, no one will have any feeling but amused contempt for a House that falls a fighting a fortnight too late.

The men who have been burning cars, wrecking locomotives, and destroying other railroad property in Chicago doubtless suppose the railroads will suffer all the loss thus caused. In point of fact, the city of Chicago will have to pay the greater part of the bills. A law passed by the Illinois Legislature a few years ago provides that whenever any building or property is destroyed or injured by a mob or riot, the city shall be liable for three fourths of the damage thereby caused. This means that taxes must be heavier in Chicago because of the Debs riots, and the greater the damage to railroad property, the heavier the ultimate loss which must be paid by the workingmen in the shape of higher rent to cover the increase in taxes.

Utah is to be a State, both branches of Congress having agreed upon a bill which the President has signed. So far as population goes, Utah was entitled to admission, for the inhabitants numbered 207,905 in 1890, and there is a steady growth from year to year, which will doubtless carry the number up to a quarter of a million by the time all the formalities are completed in 1895. The fear that polygamy might be revived after the Territory became a State, and that there would then be no effective way for federal authority to deal with it, has gradually died out. Mormons themselves give the warmest approval to the later "revelation," which has practically annulled polygamy as a doctrine of the Church; and even the social line which a few years ago so distinctively separated Mormon and Gentile in Utah has disappeared. The only cause for regret about the admission of Utah is the fact that it was not annexed to Nevada and the two

made one State. This were practicable now, but it will be next to impossible hereafter. As it is, the problem of the sage-brush State, with its petty population constantly dwindling, remains apparently insoluble.

Some Republican organs in the East are evidently puzzled that their party in Congress has not opposed the admission of Utah, or made more than a pretence of antagonism to the scheme for letting in New Mexico also, with its large element of ignorant voters. The explanation is, that the managers in Washington are very hopeful of carrying both of the new States in their first elections, and thus getting four additional Senators on their side. In 1892 the Republican candidate for Delegate in Congress was beaten in New Mexico by only 579 votes in a total of 31,019, and in Utah the Republicans polled 12,390 votes against 15,201 for the Democrats, with 6,986 for a "Liberal" candidate, while since then the Mormons have been beaten for the first time in a municipal election at Salt Lake City. The silver policy of the Cleveland administration is extremely unpopular in these Territories, and the Republicans hope to profit by this feeling. It is undoubtedly for the sake of helping their chances in these remote regions that the party managers are letting down their standard on all financial questions, and causing the adoption of the extraordinary silver platforms which amaze conservative members of the party in the East.

One of the most flagitious changes made by the Senate in the tariff bill was in raising the duty on lace curtains to 50 per cent. These are made of cotton, and, being cheap and attractive to the eye, are in general use throughout the country. Under the tariff of 1883 they were subject to a duty of 40 per cent. McKinley, in a spirit of liberality with other people's money, raised it to 60 per cent. The Wilson bill put it back to 40 per cent., but ought to have put it lower. In point of fact, the largest manufacturer of lace curtains in this country, Mr. Clarence Whitman, of the Wilkesbarre Manufacturing Co., has testified more than once that 35 per cent. is ample, and that anything beyond that is a sheer gratuity. It should be added that the duty on cotton yarn, the raw material of this industry, is reduced in the present bill by 40 per cent., to which, of course, there is no objection. Notwithstanding all this, the Senate committee, at the instance of one prosperous and one bankrupt concern (there being only two in addition to the Whitman factory), has raised the duty to 50 per cent. We understand that the leading houses in the trade in this city have remonstrated strongly against this out-

rage, and we hope that the House will stand firm on this paragraph of the bill.

It is as gratifying as it is surprising to be able to record a bit of Congressional legislation affecting offices proposed and passed purely as a business measure. We refer to the reorganization of the Treasury Department, which was ordered by the Senate on Saturday as an amendment to the legislative appropriation bill. This measure was reported by the joint committee on the laws organizing the executive departments, and was advocated in the House by the best men of business in both parties. It provides for sweeping away a great many antiquated and cumbrous methods in the keeping of the Treasury accounts, and for introducing the simplicity and accuracy of modern book-keeping. Incidentally it proposes to cut down the accounting force of the Treasury, to the annual saving of no less than \$200,000. To get such a bill through Congress is a tremendous feat. It was inevitable that a great many members who saw \$200,000 worth of offices cut off from their possible perquisites should have grave doubts about interfering with the work of the fathers, and should develop a sudden anxiety about the checking off of one man's accounts by a dozen others. But Messrs. Dingley and Dockery in the House and Senators Cockrell and Proctor in the upper chamber met all objections raised so conclusively that Senator Sherman, who set up his authority against the recommendations of both the present and the preceding secretary of the treasury, could rally only four forlorn votes against the bill. All this augurs well for further reforms in future Congresses, at the instance of the joint committee.

A member of Congress from Illinois, on the Democratic side, has introduced a bill to make gold contracts payable in silver, or greenbacks, or leather, or mud, or anything which Congress has made or shall make legal tender. A movement of this kind was sure to come sooner or later. Thomas Paine, in view of the catastrophe of the Continental currency, declared solemnly that anybody who should propose another legal-tender act ought to be put to death. The words of this apostle of democracy cannot be quoted too often. They are contained in his "Dissertations on Government," vol. i., p. 407, thus:

"The laws of a country ought to be the standard of equity, and calculated to impress on the minds of the people the moral as well as the legal obligations of political justice. But tender laws of any kind operate to destroy morality and to dissolve by the pretence of law what it ought to be the principle of law to support, reciprocal justice between man and man; and the punishment of a member who should move for such a law ought to be death."

If that ought to be the punishment of a

member of Congress who should move for a law making irredeemable paper legal tender, what should be done to one who would make specific gold contracts payable in such paper? Is there anything of liberty left when a man's right to make a contract is taken away? Not a shred. The Constitution was framed and adopted to establish justice. When this fundamental idea is abrogated, the Union is no longer worth preserving and will not long survive.

Congressman Patterson of Tennessee, who voted against the majority of his colleagues from that State for the repeal of the Sherman law, and who opposed the proposition for free-silver coinage, has written an admirable open letter to his constituents regarding his course in the present Congress and his attitude in case of reelection. In 1890 Mr. Patterson advocated free coinage, but that was when silver had temporarily run up as high as \$1.20 per ounce, and when he had not given the subject careful study and reflection. Since then he has made such investigation of the questions involved that he is now thoroughly convinced of the danger involved in that policy. Mr. Patterson presents cogently and forcibly the considerations which have caused him to change his opinion, and his arguments are unanswerable. The frankness with which he meets the charge of inconsistency must disarm all candid critics. Indeed, his letter cannot fail to carry great weight with any man who is open to conviction. It is precisely the sort of communication which a Representative in Congress ought to address to his constituents when any difference arises between them, and it would be a good thing for the country if such open letters were more common.

The conclusion of Mr. Patterson's appeal applies as well to all Southern districts as to his own, since it shows the peculiarly great advantage which the South could now reap from assuming a sound position on financial questions. He calls attention to the fact, which is now universally conceded, that the South has weathered the hard times with fewer failures, less bankruptcy, and more comfort than any other section. He points out that Coxey's Army secured no recruits from the South, that there have been no public soup-houses, no organized opposition to social order, and no seizure of property by mobs. He says that the tide of immigration westward has now crossed the continent, and that there is much disappointment with conditions in the far West. With a salubrious climate, a fertile soil, great variety of productions, and marvellous resources, the Southern people are now, in his opinion, "approaching a great opportunity."

All that is necessary to improve the opportunity and enjoy great prosperity is to "bring the South into closer political and commercial relations with that great and controlling section—controlling alike in wealth and population—which lies north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers and east of the Missouri"; and the surest path to this end is by supporting a sound financial policy. It would be hard to exaggerate the force of this argument.

The deal between Platt and Tammany is clearly exposed by Mayor Gilroy's appointment, as Police-Commissioner McClave's successor, of Gen. Michael Kerwin, one of Platt's most faithful followers. The selection is grossly unfit in itself, Kerwin being a professional politician of the worst type, who has a poor reputation and was once discharged from a place in the post-office because he neglected Government work for wire-pulling. He represents the Milholland machine in local Republican politics, and was lobbying in its interest before the Legislature during the recent session. In short, he is a perfect type of the man who ought *not* to be appointed to a responsible place in the municipal government. Tammany picks him out because he is a Tammany Republican who can be trusted to do his best to keep Tammany in power by supporting the straight-ticket policy in the approaching city election. His appointment is an outrage on the public and an insult to decent Republicans which they ought to have spirit enough to resent. They see now exactly what the advocacy of a straight ticket means—a trade with Tammany every time there is a chance, and a sacrifice of the public interests to the aggrandizement of a few professional politicians. The straight-ticket men have no expectation of electing their own ticket—and if they could, what better would a Platt-Milholland administration be than a Tammany one? What they do expect is, by helping Tammany to retain control of the city, to capture a lot of fat offices for themselves. That is "what they are in politics for." The question is whether the Republican party will be run by this gang.

By the death of Gen. James B. Fry the country loses one of the most useful, although not one of the most famous, men of the war period. After a service in the field which included the battles of Bull Run, Shiloh, Corinth, and Perryville, Gen. Fry was assigned to duty as provost-marshal-general of the War Department, having charge of enlistments, conscription, and draft. In this capacity he rendered important and indispensable services, but they were not of the kind which attract attention like exploits on the field of bat-

tle. It was in the course of his duties as provost-marshal-general that the conflict between Blaine and Conkling took place over his head, although this event happened a year after the war and while Gen. Fry was winding up the affairs of the office. This controversy, which had the serious consequence of dividing the Republican party into two very hostile factions, grew out of a charge made by Mr. Conkling in the House on the 24th of April, 1866, that certain men who had "stood up honestly and attempted to resist bounty-jumpers were stricken down and trodden under foot by Gen. Fry." Mr. Conkling added: "The only way to acquit him of venality is to convict him of the most incredible incompetency." To this attack Mr. Blaine replied in a few peppery remarks, which drew from Mr. Conkling the answer that what Mr. Blaine said was false. For this he was called to order by Mr. Blaine, who made the point that such words were unparliamentary, and the point was sustained by the chair.

A few days later Gen. Fry wrote a letter to Mr. Blaine which the latter caused to be read from the clerk's desk. Mr. Conkling had been acting as judge-advocate in the military service at the time when the acts that he condemned had been committed. Gen. Fry now made the point that if he knew the things that he pretended to know, he ought to have made formal charges against him. He concluded his letter by saying: "He (Conkling), therefore, can only escape the charge of deliberate and malignant falsehood as a member of Congress by confessing an unpardonable breach of duty as judge-advocate." These words were probably inserted in the letter at Mr. Blaine's instance. Gen. Fry, in publishing a review of the whole matter last year, remarked that he submitted the letter to Mr. Blaine before sending it, "by whose advice some of the expressions were sharpened." This letter led to the ranorous debate in the House in the course of which Mr. Blaine compared Mr. Conkling to Thersites, to a turkey-gobbler, a singed cat, a whining puppy, and made various other galling allusions which the gentleman from New York was the last person in the world to forget or forgive. Gradually Gen. Fry passed out of view as a party to the controversy, which continued to rage as long as Mr. Conkling lived. It is very clear now that it was a case of misunderstanding as between Conkling and Fry, for the latter tells us in his book that he afterwards met Conkling at the house of Gen. Grant in 1883, and that they shook hands on that occasion twice and parted amicably. Gen. Fry was the soul of honor. He would sooner have plucked out both his eyes than defraud the Government, or allow it to

be defrauded with his knowledge or privity.

New difficulties growing out of the internationality of silver coins in the Latin Union are constantly cropping up. Under the treaty of 1865 a standard of weight, fineness, and diameter was fixed for all the minor coins. The old coins, varying from this standard, were allowed to circulate in all the countries of the Union till January 1, 1869, and no longer, being legal tender for fifty francs in one payment. Of course the public paid very little attention to dates and minute variations from the standard. Consequently the small coins of Italy of all dates and sizes flowed into France, where they have become a common nuisance. The law requires that when any bad or uncurrent money is offered for deposit at the Bank of France, the receiving teller shall cut it in half and return the parts to the depositor. A silver coin so cut loses one half of its trading value. Much bad feeling has been engendered in this way. Moreover, it is found that many Italian silver coins of full weight dated 1886 and 1888 are circulating in France. As the Italian Government did not coin any silver in those years, it follows that these are counterfeits. Of course the Italian Government refuses to redeem them. The upshot of the whole matter is, that the Latin Union is becoming very unpopular in France, and the cause of international bimetallicism suffers equally.

The Berlin socialists are evidently sincere. A dispute having arisen between the great brewers of that city and their employees, the socialists took a hand in it by ordering a "boycott" of the places where the product of these breweries was sold. This game, however, is one that two can play at, for the keepers of the drinking-places have closed their houses to all socialist meetings until the boycott is removed, and the great breweries have pledged themselves to supply no more beer to any places where such meetings are held. The socialists thus appear to have adopted a "self-denying ordinance" of great severity. To be deprived of both beer and meetings must be to them an unexampled hardship. For some weeks they have been leading a precarious existence upon soda-water, "ginger-ale," and other "temperance drinks," with the consequences to be apprehended from such dangerous violations of the laws of health. It is scarcely necessary to say that it is impossible to maintain any revolutionary fervor upon a diet like this, which certainly has nothing "hot and rebellious" in its character; and the cause of socialism is likely to suffer a decline unless this injudicious boycott is removed. There are limits to human endurance even in the most sacred of causes.

A LESSON IN PATRIOTISM.

THERE is no room to doubt that the patriotic sentiment of the American people has been powerfully stirred during the last two weeks. More than one judicious man has been heard to say that nothing like it has been seen since the civil war. It has been no mere newspaper flurry. All classes in society have been touched, and all parts of the country aroused. Men who are too young to have known the fervid national emotion which swept over the North in 1861, have for the first time had their pulses quickened by the feeling that there was something inspiring and majestic in the idea of a national authority which it would be good to spend strength and life in defending. For most men under forty, in fact, the recent revival of national sentiment has been the greatest lesson they have ever had in genuine patriotism.

This waking of the patriotic spirit is all the more gratifying because it was so unexpected. As so many times before, the people of this country have shown that they are very patient and often dangerously good-humored and long-suffering, but that there is a point beyond which the traitor or the demagogue who presumes upon their indifference, goes at his peril. No one forecast this outburst of national feeling against rebellious boycotters, any more than the similar and greater outburst against rebellious slaveholders was anticipated. Up to the very moment of its appearance, so astute and old a politician as Senator Sherman suspected nothing of the coming deluge, and was caught full in its track, just as the doughfaces of 1861 were caught in the flood which took them unawares. A good part of the praise due to the President for his prompt and resolute action is for acting before public opinion had certainly declared itself. He stood up squarely for the assertion of the national authority before he or anybody else could be sure that the support and applause of the country would be so speedily given him. But when the critical time came, the response of the nation was swift and unmistakable. It was that, and not the handful of troops at the disposal of the authorities, which quelled and conquered the frenzied mob. It was an encouraging demonstration that American patriotism may still be counted upon in times of national peril.

But still more reassuring is the form and direction taken by this aroused sentiment of nationality. It overrode all partisan distinctions, to begin with, and for a brief but blessed season silenced the ignoble voices which are so quick to proclaim that there are votes or party advantage to be got from the nation's danger. It was the nation speaking, not the politicians. Nor was it the baser passions getting the upper hand. There was no talk of war or vengeance, no comparing our strength and dignity and

rights with those of another country, no boasting of what we would do to make our flag and name terrible in the eyes of the world. It was rather that purest love of country which insists that country shall be made a thing to love. To make law respected, to make property and life secure, to strike down the methods of war in time of peace, to affirm and make good the national responsibility for order, and the right of every man and every corporation to labor and to enjoy the fruits of labor—that, in effect, was the aim of the quickened national feeling, and that it has in great degree accomplished. Whose is so dull a soul as not to feel that the country is more worthy of respect and love—a better place to live in—than it was a month ago?

To bring out clearly the genuineness and worth of this manifestation of true patriotism, one has only to contrast it with the sham patriotism which has so many times, in the past few years, tried to palm itself off on the country. There is this to be said for the politicians, that they have always believed in the tremendous power of national sentiment if only they could manage to arouse it and use it. But what they have woefully underestimated in the American people is intelligence. They have thought to fire the popular heart without doing anything for the popular head. Hence have come all the futility and all the fury of our political jingoes. Hence has grown up a most tiresome and meaningless jargon about "the flag" and a "vigorous foreign policy" and making ourselves respected "in the eyes of the world." Hence have proceeded the efforts to work up the American people into a towering rage over some far-off island, which nine-tenths of them know nothing and care less about, or to get up a foreign war with some weak power which it would be a disgrace to fight. Go back only two short years ago and you will see the difference between a President who goes about, with the small arts of the politician, to stir up national sentiment, and a President who stirs it up almost before he knows it. It is in one sense ludicrous, and in another it is humiliating, to recall now the Chilean intrigue, with President and cabinet giving out war news, and pounding their desks, and hurrying up the iron-clads, and ordering shot and shells from Europe, and violently waving the flag, and to remember that grown-up men thought that was the way to call forth the patriotism of the American people. The abject failure of such galvanized patriotism, put side by side with the spontaneous and successful outburst of the past fortnight, will long serve for the warning of politicians and the comfort of good citizens.

COMMON SENSE IN THE SENATE.

THE silence of both branches of Congress during the recent crisis was broken

on Tuesday week, when the Senate took up the subject which was engrossing the attention of the whole nation, and, before laying it aside, made clear the fact that the legislative department of the Government would heartily sustain the executive in putting down the new rebellion.

Peffer was responsible for securing an expression of Senatorial opinion by insisting upon consideration of his Populistic resolution providing that the Government shall assume control of railroads and coal mines and "run things" generally. He made a speech in support of his scheme which may be accepted as the epitome of Populism, and it is a satisfaction to get so clear an idea as he furnished of what his party aims at. This is nothing short of the overthrow of the existing government, with its division of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial departments. He said:

"I do not wonder sometimes that there is a growing feeling against the political condition of things in Washington. I do not wonder that my friends write to me expressing the hope that the Senate shall be abolished. I wrote to one of them the other day saying that I would vote for its abolition, and I would go further and vote for the abolition of the House of Representatives. I would favor the government being confined to one man (not more than one) from each State. The fewer governors that we have in this country, the better. At any rate, one man can do no worse than a few hundred men have done."

Peffer went on to "speak enthusiastically of the grand spectacle that would be presented when all workmen of the country stopped work; when all the life of the communities would be at an absolute standstill—like the silence of a Sunday morning; when nobody would be at work; when everything would be paralyzed and inert." He concluded by condemning the calling out of the troops. In short, his speech was nothing more nor less than a plea for anarchy.

This treasonable utterance aroused the latent patriotism of the Senate. Mr. Davis of Minnesota was the first to take Peffer in hand. He did not mince words in his references to the Kansas Senator. "I am amazed," he said, "to hear the trumpet of sedition blown in this chamber to marshal the hosts of misrule to further devastation." He characterized the existing situation as "insurrection," and said that, "with all the dormant and latent powers of revolution threatening the country, the Senator from Kansas was advising the dismemberment of the Government and the abolition of the legislative and executive departments." He denounced the Kansas anarchist for having no word of reproof, not a single word of reproach, for the bloodshed that had been going on in Chicago for the last ten days, or the millions of property that had been destroyed. He pronounced Peffer's proposition to stop and arbitrate "just as foolish as if some one, when the battle lines were drawn at Gettys-

burg, had insisted that the impending conflict should be withheld until Lee and Meade had argued, between the lines, the question of slavery in the Territories."

Mr. Davis showed how small a segment of the people of the United States is the band of men under the leadership of Debs, and pointed out the absurdity of their contention that they may interrupt the industries of the nation at their own caprice. As for Peffer's plea that he spoke for "the people," Mr. Davis said:

"The people are, by private letters, by telegrams, in the public press and through the pulpit, crying aloud in condemnation of this most wicked, monstrous, and cruel attack on the very foundations of our civilization, and the Senator from Kansas talks about putting this matter in the hands of the people. The people have taken this matter into their hands through the constituted authorities. It is in the hands of the people in the highest sense of the term—the people of a free country, with laws which guarantee to every man the same right which every other man has, and no more."

Gen. Gordon of Georgia, who bears on his face the marks of wounds which he received in trying to overthrow the federal Government thirty years ago, followed Mr. Davis with an equally eloquent and forcible denunciation of anarchy, and with a promise of support for the national authorities which was even more impressive in view of its source. He pronounced the pretension of Debs that he can order men to desist from labor or to begin labor at his will "so preposterous, so utterly abhorrent to every thought which an American citizen ought to entertain, that it was impossible for him to treat it with any consideration whatever." He closed an admirable speech in these words:

"He stood here to proclaim, not as a Southern man, but as an American citizen—and he wished that his voice could reach every law-breaker on the continent—that the men who wore the gray from 1861 to 1865, and who confronted the stars and stripes in that great conflict, would be found side by side with the men who wore the blue uniform, following that same flag in upholding the dignity of the republic over which it floated, and every law upon the statute-books."

Mr. Daniel of Virginia, another Senator who served on the Confederate side throughout the war, offered a resolution as a substitute for Peffer's, which declared that "the Senate endorses the prompt and vigorous measures adopted by the President of the United States and members of his administration to repulse and repress by military force the interference of lawless men with the due process of the laws of the United States, and with the transportation of the mails of the United States, and with commerce among the States"; and that "the action of the President and his administration has the full sympathy and support of the law-abiding masses of the people of the United States, and he will be supported by all departments of the Government and by the power and resources of the entire nation." The resolution met with

the warmest support from both sides of the chamber, and would have been adopted immediately, by a practically unanimous vote, but for the petty partisanship of a New England Senator, Gallinger of New Hampshire, who insisted, despite the protests of his fellow-Republicans, that it go over a day, apparently in order that he might see if he could in the meanwhile find something snarling to say about Cleveland before voting to endorse the President's course. However, the delay of a day did no harm. The important thing was that the attitude of the Senate had been made clear, and it had been shown that there is no sympathy with anarchy outside the three or four Populist cranks.

The executive department of the Government had already done its duty. The judicial department was engaged in the discharge of its prerogatives. The legislative department emphatically if tardily proclaimed that the executive and the judiciary would be supported by the representatives of the States and the people.

AN ETHICAL PROFESSOR REBUKED.

WE published last week a letter from a close observer of Prof. R. T. Ely, "Director of School of Economics, Political Science and History, University of Wisconsin," showing his active, everyday life as a practical ethical socialist. It was a very remarkable revelation, and naturally prompted one to inquire if the University of Wisconsin is content with a teacher of youth who is capable of such performances. A few years ago Prof. Ely sent forth his platitudes on socialism, ethics, and labor from Johns Hopkins University, but that institution was able to spare him when he desired to extend his usefulness over the wider field of the boundless West. He has been "directing" in Wisconsin University for only a short period, but it is apparent from the baccalaureate address of the President of the University, Mr. Charles Kendall Adams, delivered to the graduating class in June last, that the head of the institution is desirous of spreading abroad a belief that there are sounder economic ideas entertained there than Director Ely is emitting. The address, in fact, while not mentioning the director, is made up entirely of assaults upon his "ethical concepts." The President seemed to consider it his duty to remove from the minds of the graduating class, as far as possible in a brief address, the rubbishy ideas which the director had planted therein.

It is well known by all habitual readers of the director's voluminous and flowing publications that he travels always over the same ground, picking his way carefully, as our correspondent pointed out, in order that nobody can say surely that he is heading directly for the camp of the socialist and anarchist.

We cannot better illustrate his philosophic method than by citing a few sentences from the article on the town of Pullman which he published in *Harper's Magazine* in 1885. He opened that article with some philosophic reflections upon the "momentous social movement" which is always disturbing his peace, saying of its effect: "The pretty dream of a natural order of things brought about by the free play of unrestrained social forces has vanished." Who had the dream, or whither it had vanished, he did not say, but he went on to declare that it had "given place on the one hand to pessimism, on the other and more generally to a determination not to let things go on of themselves, but to make them go in such manner as may be desired." This is what Prof. Sumner calls the doctrine of making the world over again. Ely assures us that the world had been having its own way long enough, that it was not going to be allowed to "spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change," but that the fellows with ethical concepts had determined to take hold of it and make it "go in such manner as may be desired." Says Ely: "The conviction has become general that the divine order never contemplated a social and economic world left to itself. Material is furnished out of which man must construct a social fabric according to his light." When Ely and others full of ethical concepts speak of "man" or "men," they mean themselves. They are the world-movers and renovators. The way in which they are to work, according to Ely, is to "leave the dim artificial light of the study," turn a contemptuous back upon the "dogmatic assumptions of classic political economy," and "go forth into the broad sunlight seeking immediate realization among the people."

Millionaires always trouble Ely, and he is always on the lookout for them lest they corrupt the laboring man by making him too comfortable. He investigated the town of Pullman in 1885, and discovered that it gave the laboring man a more luxurious home, at a lower rent, than he could obtain in Chicago. He was sure that there was some insidious capitalistic devilry in this, and smelt "an overvaluation of material comfort and an undervaluation of higher ethical goods." In a passage of great ethical fervor and wonderful foresight he exclaimed:

"Not a few have ventured to express the hope that Pullman might be widely imitated, and thus inaugurate a new era in the history of labor. But if this signifies approval of a scheme which would immesh our laborers in a network of communities, owned and managed by industrial superiors, then let every patriotic American cry, God forbid! What would this mean? The establishment of the most absolute power of capital, and the repression of all freedom. . . . If free American institutions are to be preserved, we want no race of men reared as underlings and with the spirit of menials. . . . Shall we turn about and forge new bonds of de-

pendence? Is not a tendency to do this observable as one of the signs of the times? Are we not frequently trying to offer the gilded cage as a substitute for personal liberty?"

The strike of the past few weeks which the dwellers in Pullman brought on, seems to furnish sufficient evidence that their "gilded cage" had not made them "underlings" or given them the "spirit of menials." As a prophet the director has scored a bad failure, and he can henceforward contemplate with equanimity the building of any number of Pullman towns. He may in time see that his other concepts are equally without foundation in fact, provided he shall live long enough to see this "tough old world," as Prof. Sumner calls it, make practical experiment with them in its own undirected way.

That President Adams has more faith in the world's way than in Ely's is very evident from his address. "Political sages," says Ely in one of his publications, "have in all ages told us that excessive inequality of fortune is a social danger, and especially so in a republic." On this point President Adams says:

"If it could often be said that one man necessarily becomes poorer because another man becomes richer, it would surely be open to question whether this condition of affairs was not radically injurious to society. But such a position, I believe, cannot be maintained. Of course, I do not mean to assert or imply that men of wealth have not been subjected to peculiar temptations, for they certainly have, and they have, no doubt, often yielded to such temptations; but what I mean to say is, that the simple accumulation of wealth on the part of a man who detects and seizes upon the inherent possibilities of a given situation, does not of itself increase the poverty of the poor. On the contrary, it surely diminishes the poverty of the poor, for it opens countless new avenues and opportunities for labor."

No less diametrically opposed to Director Ely's views of Labor and its right to accomplish its ends by boycotting and other and more violent forms of coercion is the following:

"Capital has no right—and so far as I know, does not claim the right—to coerce labor. If it does make this claim, certainly the claim cannot be justified. For the same reason labor cannot coerce capital, the poor cannot coerce the rich. Men often seem to forget that it is the inherent and inalienable right of either to determine whether the terms offered by the other shall or shall not be accepted. Capital—and when I say capital I mean the men in control of capital—have the absolute right to determine what wages they will pay for the labor they seek. This follows from the unquestionable right of every man to determine the price which he will pay for whatever he desires to buy."

As a final quotation, though many others equally pertinent might be made, let us cite this comprehensive statement by President Adams of the real trouble at the bottom of Director Ely's thinking:

"I cannot resist the conviction that there is in this country at large a vast amount of loose thinking in regard to the rights and the wrongs of what are sometimes called the laboring classes. A part of this wrong thinking is the result of a natural and commendable sympathy, and a part of it is the result of an indiscriminating sentimentality. In a vast number, if not in a majority, of cases, suffering has come from improvidence, from extravagance, or from dissipation. Let us take care that we do not attribute results to wrong causes."

THE LIMITS OF ARBITRATION.

It cannot be said that recent events have shed much new light upon the general subject of submitting disputes between employers and workmen to arbitration. The endeavor to induce the Pullman Company to submit to arbitration the question whether there was any question to be submitted to arbitration had something the effect of a *reductio ad absurdum*; and the attempts of various officious, although doubtless well-meaning, persons, to get something or other arbitrated, no matter what, did not promote serious views of the situation. The wretched Debs, in his endeavors to obtain some appearance of concession, suggests President Jackson's caller, who began by demanding a commission as minister to England and ended by begging for an old pair of trousers. But the affair has too many mournful features to be altogether ridiculous, and, in spite of the complete collapse of the boycott, it may have some important results.

As was to be expected, the demagogues hasten forward with their usual proposals for establishing Government boards of arbitration. The only result of such plans hitherto has been to create a certain number of new offices, and to increase thereby the burden of taxation upon the people. The class of persons securing these offices is usually not such as commands the respect of the community, and their adjudications are seldom desired and of little weight. They have no power to enforce their judgments, and they represent no public opinion that would make their judgments effective. As at present constituted, these boards are a useless expense. Whenever arbitration is practicable, arbitrators of higher standing than these functionaries can generally be procured; and when it is impracticable, these officers are as impotent as private citizens.

The nature of arbitration has been often enough explained, but in view of the deepened public interest in the subject it is desirable to restate some elementary truths. Speaking broadly, civil courts exist for the purpose of deciding questions arising out of breach of contract. Their judgments always direct the payment of pecuniary damages or specific performance, and are enforced by the sheriff. Turning to contracts of employment, if they are broken, an ordinary court will adjudge the payment of damages by the employer or the employed according to circumstances. Such a judgment is generally enforceable against an employer, especially since claims for wages are in many States preferred in case of insolvency. Moreover, the legal profession contains members who are not backward in offering their services without advance payment. The remedy of the workman against his employer for breach of the contract of hiring is there-

fore not only theoretically but practically sufficient. Of course there are failures of justice due to the rascality of employers, but the law does not appear to be at fault.

The remedy of the employer against the workman is perfect in the contemplation of the law, but, owing to the impecunious condition of many workmen, it is practically useless. The game is not worth the candle, and a suit by an employer of labor against a laborer, for damages for breach of his contract to work, is an unheard-of thing. As we have recently pointed out, if contracts were made between employers and trade-unions, actions for damages against the unions would be efficacious remedies, because the unions have funds that could be levied upon. But at present such actions could not, as a rule, be maintained. Moreover, the suggestion, when made in England, called forth a vigorous protest from the camp of the labor agitators. They have evidently no idea of surrendering what they regard as an advantage of position in their contest with capital. Nor is it very probable that this element would look upon the proposition with different eyes in this country, or even that public opinion demands anything of the kind. As we consider it for the best interests of workmen to make their contracts directly with their employers, rather than to be compelled by the sentiment of their own order to submit to the "walking delegate," we are not especially concerned to thrust legal responsibility upon trade-unions, although they are certainly entitled to it.

It has been proposed that laborers engaged in works which the public interest requires to be carried on without intermission should be prevented from suddenly quitting work, in breach of contract, by making such acts misdemeanors. Such legislation involves no violation of liberty; but it would be violently opposed by the labor agitators, and public opinion does not yet seem to demand it. We have recently witnessed many endeavors to accomplish the same end by the use of the power of the courts to punish for disobedience of their orders. An act not punishable by statute is in this way made punishable at the discretion of a judge, and we need hardly state the grave objections that exist to this practice. It will evidently require statutory regulation, in which case much relief may be afforded; but this regulation can scarcely be extended to disputes in industries not affected with a public interest.

We are thus brought back to the question with which we started: How can the judgment of an arbiter be made effective? We have seen that the judgment of a court of justice is not effective against a workman, and that all

suggestions for making it effective are repudiated by the spokesmen for "labor." They now cry for arbitration; but what they desire is legislation that shall compel employers to pay better wages than they are willing to pay. They wish, when an employer refuses to grant the terms desired by his workmen, to have some third party called in who shall tell the employer that he must grant these terms, and who shall be able to enforce his decree by the armed power of the State. But they reject all proposals for empowering the arbitrator to call in this power against the workmen. It is evident that no such arbitration as this can be conceded. If there is to be any effective interference by outsiders or by the public in trade disputes, it must be made effective upon both parties. And even so the possibilities of such interference, unless voluntarily sought by both parties, are very limited. No power can compel an employer to pay wages if he has no money, and if men are compelled to work by force, their labor, which is of the nature of slave labor, will not be very productive. A bill was once introduced in Parliament to compel night-watchmen to sleep six hours every day in order that they might be more faithful at night; but there are limits even to the omnipotence of Parliament.

FRIDAY NIGHTS IN CONGRESS.

THE national House of Representatives has two committees often confused—the committee on pensions and that on invalid pensions. The latter is concerned with the late civil war and the former with all others. It is their business to receive and consider a crowd of applications from persons of all ages and both sexes who can establish some species of connection with some one of our five wars, but who have been shut out by some technicality, defect of evidence, or more genuine barrier from the operation of our extra-liberal pension laws. How many of these petitions get reported to the House by the committees in the form of bills is of course variable. When the noble Republican party was in power, it furnished a rich grist from the mill of the committee on invalid pensions, putting on the pension list pretty much every living man who was in the late war, and every wife, daughter or mother of every one deceased; and when the Democracy came in, it must be admitted that the committee on pensions succeeded in resuscitating an extraordinary number of heroes and their representatives over whom the Seminole and Mexican wars had cast a halo of chivalric glory.

But it is one thing to report a bill and quite another to pass it. There is a list called the "private calendar," which

entombs as many reported bills as the list of "missing" does wandering champions. If these pension bills waited for the regular consideration of the House, they would never come up. Accordingly, Friday nights are by rule set apart for them. The House of Representatives takes a recess at five o'clock, and at eight reassembles—for the private calendar. At that hour, in a hall filled with a lifeless, effluvia-laden gas that no analytical chemist would class as atmospheric air, there assemble a few score—sometimes not fifty—jaded legislators who have survived the sickening session from twelve to five o'clock. They are about equally divided between Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats.

Between these two parties the number of moderate men who attend, because they think they ought to, who support reasonable proposals because they are reasonable, and are bent on considering every case judicially, is nearly crushed out. Like Mr. Pickwick between the editors, they receive the fire-shovel of Pickler and the carpet-bag of Jones patiently, waiting for some chance to mediate, to reconcile, to recall attention to the business in hand and induce the fanatical belligerents to speak to the question, and not either to the galleries or to the constituencies; but their efforts have small success. Every Friday night the speaker *pro tempore* takes the chair to yield it immediately to some chairman of the committee of the whole. The private calendar, or rather such portions of it as relate to pensions and the removal of charges of desertion, is called up. As a matter of course, the measures reported have some element of doubt or weakness; whatever merit they have is equitable and not legal, otherwise they never would be the subject of special legislation. Yet, in spite of this admitted fact, some passionate Grand Army member presses them as if equity were equal to law, and as if the fact that a claim was meritorious at all made it impregnable, and in return some watchdog of the Treasury insists that the evidence is not complete, and that the case is clearly outside law and must not receive the sanction of even a special act. Sooner or later the charge is sure to come from the Republican side that the entire Democratic party is sold to the Confederate interest, and has no friendship for the soldier; and this is met by an indignant reclamation from some Southern member that ex-Confederates have an entire respect for the boys in blue, and never will vote against any honest claimant, but that the present instance is one of those fraudulent, etc., etc., etc.

Between these two, both employing every parliamentary resource of persistency and obstruction, both making long speeches for their constituencies, both goading each other into interruptions

that raise the flame hotter and hotter, the two hours and a half prescribed for this particular legislation get wasted and frittered away, and Friday night after Friday night ends with nothing done. But the peculiarly farcical incident which gets repeated almost weekly is this: A bill of the class named is reported, in which without very great difficulty a defect of evidence is discovered. It would be strange, indeed almost miraculous, if after thirty years a claim could be brought up for special legislation which was in all respects without a single flaw. All that its friends assert is that it is meritorious, and that its merits should outweigh its defects. No matter. Mr. Jones of Virginia is sure to rise; he solemnly calls for the reading of the bill and report. He has probably done just the same when the bill was up on some previous Friday. With much elaboration, repetition, and feeling he goes over and over the evidence again and again, points out its defects, asks the committee for what he knows cannot be supplied, and appeals to members not to press such a bill. He has tempted its friends to enter into a perfectly useless discussion, into which trap they instantly fall, as they have done many Fridays before. He now has an excuse for a second speech, in which the same ground is gone over and over again.

Under the most favorable circumstances a vote is reached. The vote is favorable to the bill, but there is no quorum, as there never is on these nights, and as there is not on one-fifth of the bills that are passed by the House after the reports of committees. Never mind. Mr. Jones solemnly calls "no quorum." He will not withdraw his point of order, though appealed to by nine out of ten Democrats present. Neither will the friends of the bill withdraw it, though appealed to by as many Republicans. The clerk calls the roll; there is not one-third of a quorum present. The committee rises, the House adjourns; the evening has been wasted. Mr. Jones and his three or four supporters protest that they never obstruct any but an objectionable bill; the other side recriminates, and those who want to do business and who mean to do business begin considering for the hundredth time what is to be done in a House whose rules make it possible for one man to block everything, and where personal spite and political suspicion turn men into schoolboys.

That pension legislation, especially in the way of private bills, has been reckless and wanton in the past the country is well convinced. That the Democratic majority has it as part of its duty to keep a firm hand on all such work is true. But the proper way to check it is to attend with a quorum and vote all bad bills down; it is not to slip behind the barrier of a few obstructionists who

resort to indiscriminate blocking in order to get a little personal renown.

TOLSTOI ON MAUPASSANT.

PARIS, July 4, 1894.

THERE are few names in current French literature more popular than that of Guy de Maupassant. He belongs to that realistic school of novelists which had for its first leaders Flaubert and the Goncourt brothers. This school is now somewhat superseded by what is called the psychological school, which recognizes for its chief M. Paul Bourget. The Maupassants are a Norman family, and Guy de Maupassant made his debut in literary life under the auspices of the author of 'Madame Bovary.' He certainly felt also the powerful influence of Turgeneff, whom he saw regularly at those monthly dinners an account of which is to be found in the curious 'Journal' of the Goncourts.

In 1881, Turgeneff was paying a visit in Russia to his friend Tolstoi, the famous author of 'War and Peace' and of 'Anna Karenina,' who had not yet become the apostle of a new religion. He handed him a small book: "Read that," said Turgeneff. "It is by a young French writer. You will find it not bad. He knows you and appreciates you." This is told by Tolstoi in an interesting study which he has just published on Guy de Maupassant. Turgeneff added, on giving the volume: "As a man, he makes one think of Druzhinin. Like him, he is an excellent son, an excellent friend, a safe man; and, like Druzhinin again, he is in relations with the workers—he directs them, he helps them. Even his ways with women remind one of Druzhinin." I confess being in total ignorance of Druzhinin, and these comparisons and allusions say nothing to my mind. Tolstoi, who knew Druzhinin well, felt at once a great sympathy for Maupassant, and this sympathy increased after he had read him; he often said of him, "I should like to know him." When he heard of the terrible nervous malady to which Maupassant fell a victim, in the prime of life, he thought for a moment of going to France and nursing him. All his attentions would have been in vain; Maupassant had a general paralysis, and had finally to be shut up in an asylum, where his reason left him before his physical pains had ended in death.

In 1881, when Tolstoi was first acquainted with the works of Maupassant, "I was," he says, "in the midst of my inner task of reconstructing my general views of the world, and during this time the artistic activity to which I had before consecrated all my strength, had not only lost all the importance which I had before attributed to it, it had frankly become disagreeable to me on account of the undue place which it had occupied in my life, and which it generally occupies in the thoughts of the wealthy classes." Tolstoi read the book lent him by Turgeneff only to please him. He confesses that he recognized at once that the author had talent. The book is perhaps the most immoral of all the writings of Maupassant. I dare hardly give its title. There is in it an attempt to show how right and wrong are mingled in human nature, how there can remain natural, innocent, tender feelings in persons whose life is given up to the most horrible corruption. The heroines of the book are common prostitutes of a provincial town; the heroes are quiet, commonplace citizens who consecrate the hidden part of their existence to *tiaisons* (I cannot find another name for it) with these

prostitutes. There is the most bitter irony in the pictures of these singular relations, which combine something domestic (and sometimes pastoral and sentimental) with the worst brutality.

It is written in the 'Imitation of Christ' that there is something impure in the purest mind, and something divine in the most degraded soul; but the writer of the 'Imitation,' when he expressed this profound sentiment, felt very differently from Maupassant. Our realistic writer did not mean to give us a lesson in humility; he took a real, and one might say almost a wicked, delight in confounding all the elements of social life and all the notions on which are built our ideas of propriety, of decency, of chastity, of virtue. He did not write even in the vein of Victor Hugo:

"Ah! n'insultez jamais une femme qui tombe!
Qui sait sous quel fardeau sa pauvre âme succombe."

For Maupassant, the "femme qui tombe," or rather the "femme tombée," is as good as any other, if not better.

Tolstoi recognizes in Maupassant the special faculty of concentrating his attention on a particular point and subject—a faculty which gives to the man who possesses it the privilege of perceiving what others could not perceive. He saw what others did not see. Only he did not unite in his talent the three conditions which, in Tolstoi's opinion, are indispensable for a true artistic creation:

"(1.) A normal—that is to say, a moral—relation between the author and the object of his creation. (2.) Clearness of exposition and beauty of form, which are one. (3.) Sincerity—that is to say, a very real sentiment of love or of hatred for what the artist paints. Maupassant united only these two last conditions, to the total exclusion of the first, which means that there did not exist in him a normal, that is to say, a moral, relation between himself and the object of his descriptions."

Maupassant saw what others would not have seen; his form was very fine, beautiful, and plastic; he was sincere in that he really loved or hated, but "he did not know the difference between right and wrong; he loved and painted what he ought not to have loved or painted, and he did not love or paint what he ought to have loved or painted." Take, for example, the little tale 'Une Partie de Campagne.' It exhibits a total ignorance of right and wrong; we are made to consider as very delightful and amusing the way in which two gentlemen, while boating, seduce, one the mother, the other the daughter. "The sympathy of the author," says Tolstoi, "goes out visibly to these two scoundrels."

Maupassant was one of the last heirs of the school of "l'art pour l'art," which was so often and so eloquently patronized by Victor Hugo. It seems as if there were no morality in art, as if the two words were incompatible. I was once mildly criticising one of Paul Bourget's first novels to a young married woman—the most virtuous of women, I don't doubt. It was at a dinner-table; my neighbor turned on me with an extraordinary air of compassion, I might almost say of contempt, and asked, "What has art to do with morality?" I have no doubt that, after having first read Bourget, she read afterwards Maupassant; she probably found him even more artistic.

Turgeneff had expressly recommended Tolstoi to read the 'Histoire d'une Fille de Ferme.' This story particularly displeased Tolstoi: "The writer evidently sees in women who are obliged to work physically only brutes incapable of rising above physical law and maternal love." After having read one volume of Maupassant's, Tolstoi said to himself that he was,

after all, only one of those clever men who nowadays use their talent in describing what ought not to be described. He ceased to think of him till he fell on another book, 'Une Vie,' and he changed his opinion. "It is not only," he says, "the best book Maupassant wrote, but it is the best French novel written since the 'Misérables' of Victor Hugo." Here he found united the three conditions which I have mentioned above. "The sense of life no longer consists in the adventures of all sorts of dissolute men and women. As the title shows, we have here the description of a life destroyed—the life of a charming, innocent woman, ready for all that is noble, and destroyed precisely by that coarse and bestial sensuality which in the author's previous stories appeared to him the phenomenon which is the centre of everything and which dominates everything. Here the sympathy of Maupassant goes out to all that is good."

There is much exaggeration in the following statement: "The form, which was fine already in the first stories, reaches here a degree of perfection which, in my opinion, has not been attained by any French prose writer." Tolstoi enters into a minute and very delicate analysis of 'Une Vie.' He does full justice to the feeling of life that runs through the book. Speaking of the heroine, he says: "One feels that the author loves this woman, and he loves her not for the beauty of her form, but for her soul, for all that is good in her. He suffers with her, he torments himself on her behalf, and this sentiment forcibly penetrates the reader, in whose soul arise naturally questions which make him reflect on the significance, the meaning, of human life." Here and there are some false notes, but, on the whole, Maupassant appears in this book "as a serious man, whose eye pierced deeply into life and who was beginning to decipher its meaning."

After this, Tolstoi read 'Bel Ami,' of which the hero might be called the Professional Lover. Tolstoi stigmatizes the book as "très sale," and the judgment is not too severe. Still, he discerns in it a serious idea, a sort of indignation which the author feels in view of the prosperity and successes of a sensual brute and in presence of his surroundings. In contrast with this happy brute, Maupassant places an old poet who understands the terrible lessons of life and death; but these lessons are lost on Duruy, the 'Bel Ami,' who is so full of animal energy and of lubricity that he "hears without hearing and understands without understanding. He hears and understands, but there is in him a spring of voluptuous life which flows with so much force that the evidence of the end which is in reserve for him, as it is for all, does not trouble him."

In the later novels of Maupassant, all the conceptions of life, in Tolstoi's judgment, become confused. He takes the trouble, however, to analyze them all, with much interest; he reviews in succession 'Mont-Oriol,' 'Pierre et Jean,' 'Fort comme la Mort,' 'Notre Cœur.' He discovers in all these a sort of indifference, something factitious; the defects manifest themselves more and more as Maupassant's books become more popular. The eulogies of the press, the avidity of publishers which makes them more and more generous, the constant flatteries of the public, the seductions of the world, have their influence, and it is not a good influence. The novels are even written in haste; Maupassant makes of his art a *métier*. He tries to invent the most interesting personages, the newest and most original situations; he ceases to preoccupy himself with any morality. The personages

are so immoral that their sufferings cease to interest us and we cannot have any sympathy with them. In his criticisms, which have the merit of being very impartial, Tolstoi does not spare the intellectual milieu in which Maupassant was thrown; he is very severe on the celebrated Renan, and cites some curious passages from his 'Mare-Aurèle' which show what a secret communion there was between the obscenity of Maupassant and the immorality of the 'Abbesse de Jouarre.'

On the whole, Maupassant's books will remain for a while as a curious document on the manners and thoughts of the end of the nineteenth century in France. Such men as "Max Nordau" will cite them as proof of the decadence and degeneracy of the Latin race. Though their form is sometimes very perfect, I doubt if they will take a permanent place in French literature. Such books as 'Colomba,' by Mérimée, will be read long after 'Bel Ami' is forgotten.

Correspondence.

THE QUESTION OF THE DAY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There are few parts of this country that have on hand any more important and pressing question than that which lies at the foundation of all government, viz., the right of citizens, either as individuals or as organized companies, to carry on any legitimate business without fear of molestation. This right has been utterly lost in large sections of our country, and is in danger everywhere. Can there be any more pertinent question put to every candidate for Congress or any State legislature this fall than this? "Will you, if elected, do everything in your power to secure such legislation as will make it possible for every citizen, from the humblest day laborer in the land to the millionaire, to carry on any legitimate occupation without dictation or violence from any source whatever?"

We must choose between government and anarchy, and no man who is willing to occupy even a doubtful position should be allowed in any office, high or low. W. H. JOHNSON.

GRANVILLE, OHIO, July 11, 1894.

SENATORIAL NOMINATION BY CONVENTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Illinois Democratic Convention at Springfield, June 27, coming as it did almost upon your date of publication, escaped mention in your columns.

It is perhaps worthy of notice that, after a preliminary campaign in which much discussion was indulged in as to whether it would be advisable to nominate in convention a candidate for the United States Senate, the question was finally decided in the affirmative with but one dissenting vote. Thus the Illinois idea of bringing the Senate as near the people as is possible under the present method of electing Senators, dating from the Lincoln-Douglas campaign of 1858, strengthened by the nomination and successful canvass of Gen. Palmer in 1890, has become, we may hope, a settled rule.

Mr. Franklin MacVeagh, the present nominee, is a brother of the Hon. Wayne MacVeagh, Minister to Italy. He represents the best elements of our citizenship, and has nothing of the professional office-seeker in his make-up.

If it should become the universal custom to make senatorial nominations in conventions chosen by the people, would other States fare as well as Illinois, or would the bosses in States where the machine is strong be able to carry their Quays and Murphys successfully through the gauntlet of a popular campaign?

LEE F. ENGLISH.

CHICAGO, ILL., July 9, 1894.

M. REINACH AND MR. WALDSTEIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: M. Reinach, in his letter published in your issue of May 31, meets my censure of his way of proceeding in a question of archaeological science by opposing his method to my own. Here are the facts:

(1) M. Reinach maintained and maintains dogmatically that the "plaques" are forgeries.

(2) Prof. Furtwaengler maintains with equal dogmatism that they are genuine.

M. Reinach considers Prof. Furtwaengler "a great archaeologist, the greatest of our age after Brunn, a man who is capable of holding a personal opinion, not a vacillating dilettante in archaeology." I wish to state in all sincerity that Prof. Furtwaengler, as well as M. Reinach, has made most invaluable contributions to modern archaeological research.

But what is the result of such assertion, and what is the good done to science? I can certainly see what harm arises out of such unqualified statement of opinion: it is a blunting of the keen edge of veracity which it is the supreme, almost religious, aim of science to sharpen and refine.

I, for my part, prefer, whether it concern the "plaques," or "the tomb of Aristotle," or any other question, to refrain from a final decision when the data at our command do not warrant a complete induction. The scientific method is the same for archaeology as for any other department of knowledge; the shadings from the "demonstrably certain" to the "barely possible" are the same, or ought to be the same. Yet our practice has been different from that of other departments of learning. It is time to stop and to protest; and I confidently leave it to the judgment of scientific men to decide which is the course of true science or of dilettantism, M. Reinach's or mine.

In the case of the head of Iris from the frieze of the Parthenon, I stated its identification in terms which left no doubt of its authenticity; the case of the metope head in the Louvre approaches complete certainty; in the case of the "plaques," I have given the student all the material I have found, have stated what I consider probable, always ready to modify my opinion in accordance with the evidence bearing upon the problem.

When I say that the method of the comparative study of style (to which the first chapter of my book on Pheidias is devoted, as the subsequent ones are meant to be illustrations of this method) is tested by the identification of the "plaques," whether they be forgeries or not, I speak the truth. It is misleading to quote as an analogy "the method consisting in detecting that a reduced copy of the Venus of Melos resembles the Venus of Melos"; the plaque was an unidentified terracotta fragment of one mutilated figure from the Parthenon frieze, not a reduction of the best-known statue.

It would be better if M. Reinach devoted some of the energy which he expends upon

passionate statements to the verification of the dates upon which he founds serious accusations against one of his colleagues. There is one portion of his letter upon which I must comment with emphasis and severity, for it concerns scientific ethics and personal honor, and I beg your readers to give close attention to the following facts. The dates which it is necessary to bear in mind are the following:

1880: Acquisition of the metope head by the Louvre Museum (not 1882, as M. Reinach has it in his last letter).

Christmas, 1881, to 1882: My identification of the head in the Louvre Museum.

August, 1882: Sir Charles Newton's announcement of my discovery in the *Academy*.

Autumn, 1882: My first publication in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

End of 1882: Meeting of the Société des Antiquaires de Paris, in which a discussion takes place based on my publication.

1883: Publication of the discussion in the *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires*.

1885: Publication of my book; the chapter on the Louvre head in print before the publication of the *Bulletin*.

Now, let me say at once, as I stated years ago, that I in no way wish to cast blame upon the authorities of the Louvre Museum, and that it would be absurd to reproach them for not making every discovery in the museum of which they have charge.

In April, 1886, M. Reinach published a letter in the *Nation* headed "Suum Cuique," in which he charged me with not duly acknowledging the prior discovery and publication of the metope head by the authorities of the Louvre Museum (M. de Villefosse). In June of that year I replied to M. Reinach, and showed conclusively that my discovery was independent and my publication was the first, upon which the French publication was based. In the same month a letter from M. de Villefosse himself appeared in the *Nation*, in which he disclaimed any part in M. Reinach's attack, and unequivocally acknowledged my priority. M. Reinach, in his reply of July, had to acknowledge this, though he did not do it generously and with good grace. Now, eight years after this discussion, M. Reinach again implies in his recent letter that I had not duly acknowledged the priority of my colleagues.

This is a wanton imputation upon my honor which I must refute clearly. When I made the discovery of the head, it had been in the museum for nearly two years, and there was no sign of its recognition as belonging to the Parthenon. Further, I asked for all information, corresponded about it, had the cast sent to London, and was not informed of any relation it might have held to the metopes. On the contrary, I was told that all that was known about it was, that it came through Vienna from the Piræus.

Whatever the purchasing board of the museum may have had in the inventories, and whatever remarks may have been made at the meeting of the Société des Antiquaires when my paper was discussed, the identification of this head as belonging to the metopes of the Parthenon was as clearly a discovery of my own as any discovery of which I have ever heard, and M. Reinach ought long ago to have acknowledged this, instead of returning to an unfounded charge.

But there are some points of detail in M. Reinach's letter which might tempt me to doubt of his bona-fides if they could not be explained by his eager inaccuracy. The point being the priority of date, he makes the following curious omissions. In his first attack

in 1886, he mentions the date of the *meeting* of the Société des Antiquaires as 1882 (the publication which alone I might have seen being 1883); and, though he mentions my publication in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, he gives no date. He thus naturally leads the reader to believe that the one which really followed had preceded the other.

In his recent letter he mentions the date (1882) of my first article; but continues, *without mentioning the date*, "Meanwhile, in the *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires*, a notice had appeared," etc., this notice being subsequent to my publication—in fact, based upon the discussion of my paper. He furthermore gives 1882 as the date of the purchase, whereas it was 1880.

This needs no comment. Upon such grounds M. Reinach has brought forward such serious charges.

The discovery is of small merit, and is not of sufficient importance to warrant so much discussion. But the question of scientific ethics raised by M. Reinach's proceedings emphatically is. What he was bound in honor and honesty to do after his first attack, and what he is bound to do now unequivocally, is to state his own mistake and to acknowledge fully my clear identification of the Louvre head. If he does not do this, I must refuse to enter upon any further discussion with a man who (whatever his other merits) has views upon the canons of conduct among men of science so diametrically opposed to my own. CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, July 3, 1894.

P. S.—What does M. Reinach mean by his hint: "I remember having erased from my proof-sheets a rather too frank qualification of M. Waldstein's dealing on that occasion"? No doubt this is very generous forbearance on the part of one whose letter on a definite point drags in every disparagement he can find against me, made by himself or any other person, and ranging from my style to my character.

C. W.

THREE MADISON LETTERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Some letters from Madison to his brother, Ambrose Madison, recently came into my possession, and among them I find three of more than ordinary interest. The resolution on freeing slaves is an incident in Virginian history of high importance, while the letters on the Constitution have never been printed, and give a new light on Madison's position.

Respectfully, WORTHINGTON C. FORD.
WASHINGTON, July 12, 1894.

Richmond, Dec. 15, 1785.

Dr. Bro'r

I wrote to my father a day or two ago by Col. Burnley, to which I refer. The principal step taken since by the H. of Delegates has been the rejection of a bill on which the assize scheme depended. The majority consisted of 63 against 49. Yesterday the vote of the Speaker decided in the affirmative a resolution to repeal the act which permits masters to free their slaves. I hope the bill which must follow on the subject may be less successful. Many who concurred in the resolution will probably be content finally with some amendment of the law in favor of creditors. Should it prove otherwise this retrograde step with regard to an emancipation will not only dishonor us extremely, but hasten the event which is dreaded by stimulating the efforts of the friends to it. The residue of the Revisal from No. 63 will be put off, except the Religious Bill and a few others. Leave was given yesterday for a bill in favor of British Creditors, but not without proofs that it will be

opposed in every stage of its progress thro' the House.

New York, Nov. 8th. 1787

Dear brother,

Having mislaid your last favor, I cannot acknowledge it by reference to its date. It contained two requests, the one relating to Mr. House's rule of calculating the weight of the tobacco; the other to my being a candidate in Orange for the Convention. In answer to the first point I enclose the rule exemplified. If this should not suffice, I will send you a calculation in detail for the whole account. In answer to the second point, I am to observe that it was not my wish to have followed the act of the General Convention into the Convention of the State; supposing that it would be as well that the final decision thereon should proceed from men who had no hand in preparing and proposing it. As I find however that in all the States the members of the Gen'l Convention are becoming members of the State Conventions, as I have been applied to on the subject by sundry very respectable friends, as I have reason to believe that many objections in Virginia proceed from a misconception of the plan, or the causes which produced the objectionable parts of it; and as my attendance at Philadelphia may enable me to contribute some explanations and informations which may be of use, I shall not decline the representation of the County if I should be honoured with its appointment. You may let this be known in such a way as my father & yourself may judge best. I shall be glad to hear from you on the subject, and to know what competition there will probably be and by whom.

As far as present appearances denote, the N. England States, R. Island excepted, will all adopt the new Constitution. N. Jersey certainly will. So will Pennsylvania according to the best opinions, by a very decided majority. I have favorable information also from Maryland; though it is not improbable that the opposition likely to be made in Virginia will have some effect on that side, as well as on the side of N. Carolina, which in general has been said to be well disposed. Like information has been rec'd from the two more Southern States; but it is too early to pronounce on their disposition. This State (N. York) is much divided. The party in power are unwilling to surrender any portion of it. The other party is composed of the more respectable citizens, and is warmly attached to the proposed Constitution. Whatever may be the sense of the majority the State will scarcely have a will of its own, if New England on the one side and N. Jersey and Pen'a on the other come heartily into the measure.

A French packet arrived a few days ago; but brings no decisive information concerning the Dutch. It continues to be uncertain what their fate is to be. A war between Russia & Turkey is said to have been declared by the latter. A great change has taken place in the French Ministry. The Parliament lately banished has got back to Paris, and it is expected that the new taxes against which they remonstrated, will not be enforced. Provincial assemblies are at length established throughout the Kingdom. The Marquis de la Fayette is a leading member of one of them. The Count de Moustier is appointed Minister to the U. States in place of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and may soon be expected here.

Richmond, June 24 [1788].

Dear brother,

Yesterday carried us through the discussion of the Constitution by paragraphs. To day will probably bring forward some proposition and debates relative to the final step to be taken. The opposing party will contend for previous amendments. On the other side, a conciliatory declaration of certain fundamental principles in favor of liberty, in a form not affecting the validity & plenitude of the ratification, will be proposed. The final question is likely to be decided by a very small majority. I do not know that either party despairs absolutely. The friends of the Government seem to be in the best spirits; and I hope have the best reason to be so. At the same time it is not impossible they may miscalculate their number; and that accidents may re-

duce it below the requisite amount. Two members on that side who went away with a purpose of returning, are still absent, it is said; and a third is so ill as to render his vote somewhat precarious. It may well be questioned whether on every estimate this loss, if it should continue, may not endanger the result. Yours affect'y

Notes.

THE Congregational Sunday-school and Publishing Society, Boston, has in press a new 'Comprehensive Concordance to the Holy Scriptures,' by the Rev. J. B. R. Walker, to be sold at a nominal price, which could probably as readily have been obtained if the Concordance had been based on the revised version instead of (as it is) on the authorized.

T. Y. Crowell & Co. will publish immediately an illustrated edition of the complete Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, in two volumes, with an introduction by Prof. Charles Eliot Norton.

D. Appleton & Co. have nearly ready 'Essays, Biological and Geological,' by Prof. Huxley (the eighth volume of his Collected Essays); 'A Rejoinder to Prof. Weismann,' by Herbert Spencer, reprinted from the *Contemporary Review*; and 'Gen. Lee,' by Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, in the "Great Commanders Series."

E. R. Wallace's 'Descriptive Guide to the Adirondacks' (Syracuse: The Author) has been for more than twenty years available to tourists, and still, after many revisions, preserves a pleasant old-fashioned flavor and retains a few antique cuts among the very numerous excellent photographic views of scenery, portraits of persons, etc. The work is the product of wide familiarity with the region and a hearty fondness for it, and enters into very minute details in all practical matters. An excellent map is folded in a pocket in the cover; it embraces not only the Adirondacks proper, but their outskirts, for the Guide treats also of Schroon Lake, Lakes Luzerne, George, and Champlain, Trenton Falls, the Ausable Chasm, and even the Thousand Islands.

Prof. J. Everett Brady of Smith College has issued, for use with his own classes, a manual entitled 'Women in Roman Literature,' for which he claims nothing more than that it is a compilation, or collection of material, rather than an original and critical study of the subject. This little volume of but eighty-seven pages is likely to prove useful to those who have not ready access to larger works; and the collection, in the appendix, of all the literary productions of Roman ladies which have come down to us cannot but prove a great convenience to any one who desires to survey the whole field at a glance. The book might have been improved by more careful proof-reading. It is perhaps to this cause that we should ascribe the curious mistake on page 12, where Pope Anastasius I. is twice called Pope Athanasius—a name unknown to the list of Roman pontiffs.

The most striking article in vol. xxxix. of Sidney Lee's 'Dictionary of National Biography' (Macmillan) is that on the late Henry Morley, whose death occurred only on May 14. No such prompt inclusion of what we may call the current dead has, we think, been shown before in the progress of this great work. As a whole, the volume, the sixth and concluding one of the letter M, possesses but slight literary interest. A number of old New England worthies and unworthies (if we must put Thomas Morton of Merry Mount in the latter category) figure in it, with Lindley Murray, the

grammarians. Charles Edward Mudie, it appears, before founding his famous circulating library, published for the first time in England, in 1844, the Poems of J. R. Lowell, and an oration of Emerson's in the same year. Both the elder John Murray and his namesake are commemorated in this volume, as is Lord Mansfield (William Murray), of whom it is recorded that in 1769, "on the question whether literary copyright in published works existed at common law, or was a mere creation of statute," he held the former view, though "the latter was eventually affirmed by the House of Lords."

The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* has issued its 58th volume, embracing the half-year just closed. The value of these volumes as a complete history of contemporary finance is well known and appreciated.

'American Street Railway Investments' is the first number of a publication, designed to appear annually, which deals with the capitalization, history, equipment, and management of the corporations organized in this country for municipal surface transportation. The work comprises reports on more than 1,000 street-railway companies, operating in about six hundred cities and towns. An alphabetical arrangement by localities is wisely followed, and the book itself is a useful addition to investment statistics. It is published by the Street Railway Publishing Company of New York.

The latest volume in the dainty "Collection Lemerre Illustrée" (Paris: Lemerre; New York: Meyer Frères & Cie.), is Paul Bourget's 'Steeple-Chase (Maurice Olivier).' The story is simple, pretty, and pure, and its appearance in this handy form is welcome.

A new volume by Maurice Maeterlinck (Brussels: Edmond Deman; New York: Dyrssen & Pfeiffer) contains three works: "Alladine et Palomides," "Intérieur," and "La Mort de Tintagiles." The first of these three dramas "for marionettes" is the longer and more important, but in none of them does the author strike a new subject or a new method of treating an old theme. There is nothing to be learned from "Alladine and Palomides" and "Tintagiles" which has not already been told in "La Princesse Maleine." Indeed, the effects in this play have been used again in the two works under review, just as "Intérieur" is a weaker "L'Intruse." The same impression of mystery, of vagueness, of mediæval mustiness and superstition is made by these dramas as by the others. There is no greater power—there is distinctly less power in them. M. Maeterlinck is repeating himself, and does not justify the high promise held out for him in Mirbeau's article which first brought him into notice. Very curious are the cuts which illustrate the volume, and which are admirably in keeping with the old-time plays.

"Jean Dornis" is evidently the pseudonym assumed by some new woman writer, and 'La Voie Douleureuse' (Paris: Calmann Lévy) is no doubt her first venture. It is a beautifully written and touching story, full of tenderest grace and deep feeling; sad, as the title indicates, but neither emotionally nor sensationally sad. The characters which suffer most, Jeanne and Yvon, are not weaklings, but endowed with good strong wills, clean minds, clear intellects, and a proper sense of morality. It is refreshing to come upon a well-written and very interesting novel in which the hero and heroine have genuine moral fibre, and prefer fighting against temptations to wallowing in sensuality, either physical or intellectual. Though the scene is laid in Brittany, the au-

thoress has refrained from over-abundant descriptions and excess of local color—another cause for gratitude. 'La Voie Douleureuse' will be appreciated by all readers as it has been by Leconte de Lisle, who acknowledges in a brief letter the dedication of the work to him.

Gyp's 'Le Mariage de Chiffon' (Paris: Calmann Lévy) is bright, brilliant, and witty, as a matter of course. It is a capital book to pick up at the seaside or in the mountains, on a train, or on a steamer. It calls for no effort of the brain to follow the workings of Mlle. Chiffon's mind, and one is gently interested throughout. The young lady's language is composed of a choice assortment of slang, and this will probably prove puzzling to readers who are not versed in this form of French. They must bear in mind that Gyp likes slang as much as she likes swells; and all her aristocrats understand this peculiar jargon, it would seem. Nevertheless, Chiffon would be vastly more charming did she talk good French, and she need lose none of her piquancy, *teste* the delightful heroine of Jean de la Brète's 'Mon Oncle et mon Curé.'

'En Pique-nique' (Paris: Colin et Cie.) is the annual volume of stories, poems, and sketches contributed by members of the "Société des Gens de Lettres." The contributions are all short, necessarily, there being twenty-six of them in this book of 324 pages, and a few are in verse. There are grades of merit among the tales: some are very good, some fair, and some poor, even though written by well-known men. Zola's contribution is of the last-named class. Pierre Macé, Jean Rameau, and Jacques Normand contribute good work, and Jules Simon has a few pages on Renan which, short though they are, are particularly interesting. Paul Gaidot's "Le Secret de Janneyriat" has been read in English; it is the story of the great actor who voluntarily sacrifices his certainty of fame in order to insure the success of the woman he loves.

Signor de Tassinari's brief 'San Francesco d'Assisi' (Florence) may be described as an afterglow of M. Sabatier's brilliant biography. The Italian's rosy enthusiasm gives us a eulogy rather than a study of his subject. If not very original, he is at least in love with his hero, and that fact by itself makes his little brochure worth while.

Part xxiv. of the 'Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies' in course of publication by the War Department contains three maps of especial interest—one showing Sherman's operations in 1863-65; another, the campaigns of the Army of the Cumberland during the war; and the third, Utah in 1860, made under Floyd's direction. Parts xxv. and xxvi. consist wholly of views, mostly from photographs, of Forts Sumter and Moultrie after their capture in 1861, of Nashville, the vicinity of Chattanooga, and other places in Tennessee, as well as in Georgia and Virginia. They are of great value. A special interest attaches to the view of the locomotive *Hero*, stolen by a detachment of Gen. Mitchell's men in their famous and tragic endeavor to burn bridges and cripple the Confederate railways; also to that of the Libby Prison. In No. xxvii. the maps and plans are resumed, with Charleston and its defences for the chief, and perhaps the 1867 map of California, Nevada, Oregon, and part of Idaho in the second place.

We have received from Dietrich Reimer, Berlin, the sixth instalment of Kiepert's grand atlas, containing maps of the British Isles, Saxony and Thuringia, Austria-Hungary,

Hither India and South America, each accompanied by what we may call its special gazetteer, viz., statistical text, with an index. From B. Westermann & Co. comes the third part of the Spruner-Sieglin 'Atlas Antiquus' (Gotha: J. Perthes), with representations of ancient Palestine and Phœnicia, Greece, Northern Italy and Spain. In this connection we may mention also, coming from the same house, parts ii. and iii. of 'Ritter's Geographisch-Statistisches Lexikon' (Leipzig: Otto Wigand), in which A is concluded and B advanced to Bern.

The last four of the total six numbers of Charles Yriarte's illustrated 'Figaro Salon' (New York: Boussod, Valadon & Co.) have reached us, and are marked, like Nos. 1 and 2, by several Napoleonic selections. We bracket also the allusive canvas of Uhde's "The Flight into Egypt" and Jean Béraud's "Le Chemin de la Croix," in which there is a studied and disagreeable anachronism. In No. 6 we have F. Roybet's "La Main Chaude," an obvious companion piece to his last year's success, "Propos Galants." The pictures by several women are noticeable—a portrait of the papal nuncio by Mrs. Wentworth, and of Mme. Réjane by Mme. "Gyp," with a study of the nude by Miss Lee Robbins. The last two are lightly touched off in the text by M. Yriarte. There is a respectable sitting figure of Jeanne d'Arc, by Mme. Signoret-Ledieu; but the most striking piece of statuary is Saint-Marceaux's "La Faute."

Mr. Waters's "Gleanings in England" in the July number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* will interest Rhode Islanders and Long Islanders, but are most remarkable for a large body of notes relating to the family connection of the Apostle Eliot, which is all but conclusively identified with the family whose pedigree is given in the *Vistas of Essex*, published by the Harleian Society. "One fortunate discovery in the shape of a will may settle the whole matter for us"; and who so likely to make this discovery as Mr. Waters? He prints the will of the Apostle's father among the rest.

The *Geographical Journal* for July opens with Mr. C. R. Markham's presidential address before the Royal Geographical Society, in which he dwells especially on the most recent Arctic expeditions. His highest praise was given to Mr. Peary, whom he looks upon "as an ideal explorer." An interesting statement was made in respect to the new catalogue of the Society's library, which is now in print. It is an alphabetical catalogue brought down to 1893, and has two appendices, the first containing an alphabetical list of all the collections of voyages and travels, with an analytical table of contents to each volume; the second being devoted to anonymous and periodical literature "arranged in geographical order." A still more important work which is in preparation is a subject-catalogue, which is to contain the titles of books, pamphlets, and papers in periodicals and transactions. It will comprise about 110,000 titles, 84,000 being those of papers and articles, and will be completed, it is hoped, in two years. Mr. W. L. Slater continues his account of the geography of mammals, in this paper treating of the Australian region, in which he includes New Guinea, New Zealand, the Moluccas, and all the Pacific islands. The recent territorial arrangements in Africa between England and the Congo Free State and Italy are explained with the aid of two useful maps showing plainly the new boundaries. The other maps are one illustrating Mr. Slater's paper, and an admi-

rable map of Tibet on a scale of sixty miles to the inch, embodying the very latest information received from travellers and the official reports of the Indian Survey. It is interesting to note upon this map that the middle courses of the great rivers of eastern Tibet are still left indeterminate. This part of Asia, containing very probably the most magnificent river scenery in the world, is still as inaccessible to white men as the North Pole.

The very interesting and scholarly lecture which M. Théodore Reinach delivered when the Greek music of the hymn to Apollo was given at Paris last April, appears in full in the *Revue de Paris* of June 15. The paper needs no praise, either in regard of its interest or of its learning. It is a most valuable contribution to our scanty knowledge of ancient music, and need only be indicated. Part of the music of the hymn is given, with both the modern and the old Greek notation. Other noteworthy articles in the same number of the *Revue* are "Une colonne de guerre au Soudan," by Commandant Péroz, being a liberal instalment of his forthcoming book on the campaign of 1891-92 against Samory; a study of "Le Père Joseph," by M. Alfred Rebillion, in which the more recent and more favorable view of the celebrated counsellor of Richelieu is asserted against the popular notion of him derived from A. de Vigny and Michelet; an appreciation of the Memoirs of the Prince de Joinville by Comte A. de Circourt, himself an old Legitimist and one of the few survivors of the French navy of 1830; and an article on the revival of the Olympic games, which contains many statistics of modern sport, but very little about the Olympics, old or new.

In a communication to the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres the director of the French School of Rome announces the opening of a new gallery of casts which will serve as an annex to the chair of archaeology in the University, and will be open to study. M. Geffroy also reports that at the last sitting of the Academy of the Lincei he saw and examined the leaden *ex-voto* objects recently found in the ruins of the temple of Anxur. They are all child's playthings: a little table, a little chair, a little scone. The Jupiter of Anxur was, as is well known, worshipped under the form of a beardless boy, and it appears that these were deemed suitable offerings to a divinity of tender age. In the course of the excavations in this temple the orifice of a sort of natural conduit, which runs far back through the rock, has been found. Out of this blows a steady and strong draught of air.

A movement has been set on foot at Aquila in the Abruzzi, the nearest considerable town to the site of the ancient Amiternum, the birth-place of Sallust, for the purpose of commemorating that historian by the erection of a monument. The names of Bonghi, Brunn, Crispi, De Gubernatis, Gregorovius, Max Müller, Overbeck, Von Sybel, and others in the list of patrons of the undertaking guarantee its serious character. Contributions from the United States are solicited. They may be sent to Prof. F. B. Tarbell, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., who will forward them to the executive committee. "The names of subscribers will be recorded, for permanent preservation, in an appropriate volume in the Municipal Palace of Aquila."

A committee of citizens of the District of Columbia, with Frederick Douglass at its head, invites subscriptions to a plain monument to John Brown on the site of the historic engine-house at Harper's Ferry. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad has granted the land

and will take care of the shaft proposed to be set up. The secretary is Robert H. Terrell, 609 F Street, N. W., Washington.

—The four days' meeting of the National Educational Association held at Asbury Park, N. J., which closed its session Friday evening, July 13, had several noteworthy features. It was preceded by a four days' session of the National Council, composed of two representatives from each State, the meetings of which were largely attended, and marked by interesting papers. The association now has a fund of \$30,000 to \$40,000, and is able to make appropriations for researches, as it did for the expenses of the "Committee of Ten"; but it declines to do so, at least till its fund amounts to \$50,000. This is unfortunate, as the new department of child study, just admitted (thanks to the efforts of United States Commissioner Harris and President Lane, with only four dissenting votes), has now greater need and could make better use of money than has ever been possible before, seeing that associations for this study have been organized in no less than nine cities or States. The sentiment of the educators against the strikers found expression in many ways and at nearly every meeting and section; the climax, perhaps, being reached on Wednesday evening, when things looked darkest and it seemed doubtful if Western delegates could reach their homes. The vast audience was asked, at the suggestion of Superintendent Maxwell of Brooklyn, to rise and sing "America." The singing and the effect were nothing less than electric, and a large part of the audience were in tears at the close. Every one seemed disposed to ask whether teachers had done their full duty in inculcating civic and industrial virtue. The many discussions of the "Report of the Committee of Ten," which was adopted and the committee discharged, footed up, perhaps, somewhat as follows: For State universities no good could come of it, as satisfactory arrangements now generally exist between these institutions and the schools that fit for them. In several faculties where it had been carefully considered, it was reported that nothing could be done. The doctrine that every study has equal educational value if well taught—which is a leading dogma of the Report, although one member of the committee declared it had been definitely voted down—found no support or supporter, but a strong consensus of opinion against it. The sentiment was also widely expressed that the Report was in the interest of the 3 per cent. of the boys fitting for college, more than in the interest of the 97 per cent. who do not go to college, and a few doubted whether most studies should be begun in the same manner by these two classes. Much was said in favor of unification of studies and against the distracting influences of the mob of branches that have in recent years entered the school curricula. The last chief vein of interest which ran through scores of papers at this great meeting was moral training. On the whole, these meetings have steadily improved during recent years. College and university men, whose presence was once almost suspected, have not only come in, but have greatly helped. Most of the papers are more carefully prepared. The school book and supply interest has been relegated to a building of its own, and although the noise of many axe-grinders is still heard—sometimes even in the papers—it is distinctly less than it used to be. The publishers' exhibit by itself was never more suggestive or interesting.

—The commemorative volume contributed by the pupils of Prof. Henry Drisler, in honor of the fiftieth year of his official connection with Columbia College, has just made its appearance (Macmillan). It is a handsome book of about three hundred pages, representing a very wide range of subjects in philology, philosophy, ancient art, and archaeology, and appealing to the literary public as well as to professional scholars. Prof. Gottheil, in a paper which is not altogether *caviare* to the general, collects all the references to Zoroaster found in Syriac and Arabic literature, which incidentally include many curious passages on the adoration of the Magi. Prof. Butler points out a remarkable anticipation by Anaximander of Mr. John Fiske's contribution to the theory of evolution—the discovery of the importance of a prolonged period of infancy to the psychical and physical development of man. The general reader will find much new and interesting matter in Prof. Gudeman's "Literary Frauds among the Greeks," and in Prof. Hopkins's discussion of the question, mooted some time ago between Max Müller and Whitney, of "Henotheism" in the 'Rig-Veda.' Mr. Hopkins reaches the striking conclusion that the poets of the Rig-Veda were esoterically, to a great extent, unitarians; and that the hymns represent the fading of pure polytheism, and the engrafting upon a polytheistic stock of a speculative homoeousian tendency, soon to bud out as philosophic pantheism. "Every Vedic poet is more or less a Xenophanes. The 'Rig-Veda' is not naïve; it is theosophic throughout." In connection with this sophisticated tendency it is worth while to inquire once more, What is the age of the Vedic hymns? Jacobi and Tilak have quite recently broached independently an ingenious astronomical theory which assigns to them a date of between 3500 and 2500 B. C.; but Prof. Perry, in his "Notes on the Vedic deity Pusan," remarks that this great antiquity will not be able to maintain itself, and that little of the Vedic literature can be placed earlier than 1500 B. C. Prof. Sloane takes a somewhat new view of the relation of the Arabs to Aristotle, assigning to the monastic sect called "The Brothers of Purity," and to Avicenna, a rôle more important and original than is customary to concede to them. They were not merely blind conservators of the great philosopher's doctrine; they absorbed new ideas from the Koran and from Christianity, and by their restless investigations reached "a modified and powerful peripateticism which was distinctly their own." This had its influence, in part directly, in part through the Moors and Averroes, upon the scholasticism of the West, and finally upon the whole movement which issued in modern science.

—Turning from philosophy to literature, we note Mr. Brander Matthews's clever paper, which suggests a profitable line of inquiry, and draws some well-founded parallels between ancient and modern drama. The "Medea," as he suggests, is obviously a "star-piece," and *Medea's* "star-part" is dexterously provided with what we call "exit-speeches." It was in all probability written to "fit" some actor of special talents, just as M. Sardou, in composing "La Tosca," fitted Mme. Sarah Bernhardt. The immense vogue of the Euripidean plays was due in some measure to the dramatist's technical mastery of stage-business, and his clear conception of what the spectator demanded. With Mr. Matthews's criticism may be classed Mr. Woodward's dis-

sertation on "Iphigenia in Greek and French Tragedy," and Mr. Hussey's investigation of the relation of Plato to the Attic comedy. He infers that the first four books of the Republic were published before the others; that "the waves of laughter" apprehended by Socrates in the fifth book were set in motion by the comedian Theopompus in his play of "The Stratotides" (The Soldier Girls), and may have given rise to the defence in the fifth book. The School of Art and Archaeology is represented by Mr. Julius Sachs's discussion of the "Medusa Ludovisi," which he plausibly makes out to be a dying Penthesilea, and in three admirable essays of Prof. Merriam. These, by their mastery of method and detail, remind us of the tradition that still lingers in the American School at Athens of the rare usefulness of Mr. Merriam's directorate. The originals discussed belong to the Metropolitan Museum; and the essays prove that there is material in New York as well as in Athens for the trained student of ancient art, and that we need no longer go abroad for experts competent to classify and interpret it. In Mr. Jackson's learned paper on Persian armor, we notice a few misprints. We must pass over certain articles whose elaborate or purely technical character does not admit conveniently of summary. We notice two misprints on p. 117.

—The master and fellows of Balliol College have appointed the Speaker of the House of Commons to succeed the late Lord Bowen as their Visitor. Mr. Peel has gladly accepted his unanimous election, and is now duly installed. The nearest analogy to the position of the Visitor of an Oxford college offered in the constitution of older American colleges is that of the "Corporation" or "Board of Trustees," and it must be admitted that the analogy is anything but close. In the very unusual event of a failure on the part of the college fellows to elect a head within the statutable limit, the College Visitor is bound to act in their place and choose for them. Within two years this case arose at Pembroke College, whose present head was chosen by its Visitor, Lord Salisbury. The Visitor of Pembroke, as of Hertford College, is the Chancellor of the University *ex officio*, the Bishop of Winchester is *ex officio* the Visitor of five Oxford colleges, while twelve others are visited by other ecclesiastics, or functionaries; the Earl of Pembroke is hereditary Visitor of one (Wadham). Thus Balliol stands alone among the twenty-one Oxford colleges in having the power to bestow the visitorship just given to Mr. Peel. The statutes of Balliol College do not apparently contemplate the possibility of the simultaneous or nearly simultaneous demise of its master and its Visitor, for the Visitor's presence is necessary at the "induction" of the master, while no Visitor can be duly elected unless the master has cast a vote at the election.

—The lectures delivered in the spring of 1893 at Florence are but now beginning to be printed. The first volume, just published under the title of 'La Vita Italiana nel Cinquecento: Storia' (Milan: Treves), contains articles by Ferrai on Francis I. and Charles V., by Masi on the Reformation, by Del Lungo on the Siege of Florence, by De Johannis on Political Economy in the Sixteenth Century, and the Discovery of America, and finally articles by Rondoni on Siena in the Sixteenth Century. Although all are readable, only the lectures of Masi and De Johannis deserve special mention. Signor Masi in a few pages says more than is to the point on the subject of the Reformation

in Italy than will easily be found elsewhere. He shows that it never became a popular movement; that, in spite of its being for a time a fad among all society people, the Reformation never took a real hold in Italy, all the persons who favored it being either, like Contarini or Vittoria Colonna, unable to break with Catholicism, or, like Ochino and Socinus, too heterodox even for Protestantism. As to the opponents of the Reformation, they never for an instant granted that there could lie back of it more than pedantry or mere wrongheadedness, and so well did they succeed in impressing this view that it is still the prevalent one in Italy, as is proved by Balbo's 'Storia d'Italia,' the most popular and most prized by the Italians themselves.

—Signor De Johannis's article is even more interesting. It is truly refreshing to come across a writer who confines himself to a definite portion or period of the Renaissance, and treats it from the sociologist's instead of from the art critic's or scandal-monger's point of view. Without wholly denying that the discovery of America hastened the decay of Italian prosperity, Signor De Johannis protests against the usually accepted view that this was a principal cause. He shows that at the end of the fifteenth century Italy was already in decline, and assigns, as chief sources of evil, senseless extravagance in public and private life, State interference with commerce, and crushingly burdensome taxes. The momentum of the decline was then increased by the Spanish hegemony, Charles V. being guilty not only of doubling the evils already existing, but of encouraging the revival of feudalism and monasticism, and, worst of all, of destroying credit by systematic coin-clipping. The final blow came from the increase of the precious metals. Contemporary Italian writers, Signor De Johannis affirms, were well aware of many of the factors in the ruin of their prosperity, and, in the discussions which arose, anticipated a number of the economic theories of to-day, and may thus be considered the real founders of the science of political economy.

—Vienna is at last to have a Goethe monument—that is to say, if the final decision of the Goethe-Verein may be accepted as final. Since 1886 the question of the erection of such a monument has been discussed, referred to committees, submitted to juries, reconsidered by the judges; and all this with the same heat and degree of partisan feeling which characterize the politico-religious quarrels that invade Parliament, the municipal council, the university, and even the hospitals. Alas for the old Vienna *Gemüthlichkeit*! Hellmer and Tilgner are the sculptors who have divided artistic Vienna into two hostile camps, not for the first time. When, a number of years ago, prizes were offered for the best design for a monument to Mozart, Prof. Edmund Hellmer was awarded the first prize; but popular opinion rebelled in favor of Viktor Tilgner, whose busts had become deservedly famous, and the jury, after adding to its numbers, reconsidered the matter, and charged Tilgner with the execution of his design. The same two sculptors were asked to hand in designs for the Goethe statue. Both designs were pronounced excellent, but Tilgner had violated one of the rules of the competition by submitting a model twice as large as prescribed, and hence the prize was awarded to Hellmer. The decision, however, only reopened the former controversy as to the relative merits of these artists,

and, to give it added zest, one of the jurors himself, Dr. Albert Ilg, director of the imperial historical art collections, and a well-known writer on aesthetics, who had been compelled to vote against Tilgner, turned against Hellmer in the fiercest manner, at the same time attacking the sculptors of Vienna in a body as ignorant and without an adequate conception of the personality of Goethe. The Association of Artists thereupon held a solemn indignation meeting, at which Prof. Rudolph Weyr, one of the most highly esteemed artists of Vienna, soundly castigated Dr. Ilg. The dispute reached its height when Tilgner himself, although an intimate friend of Ilg, repudiated his warfare in an emphatic manner. "I feel," he said, "as if Ilg had seized me by the legs and hurled me at my opponents in order to crush them." The Goethe-Verein, divided between the adherents of Tilgner and Hellmer, resolved to hold an extraordinary meeting to consider the advisability of ordering a new prize competition. Several hundred members were hurriedly added to the association, and a sensational outcome was expected. But, fortunately, calmer counsels prevailed, and the meeting confirmed Prof. Hellmer in the right to execute the work. An anonymous writer in the *Neue Freie Presse*, in whom it is easy to recognize that graceful *feuilletoniste*, Herr Hugo Wittmann, taking up the charge of ignorance brought by Dr. Ilg against the Vienna sculptors, reminds him that Dannecker, the creator of the best Schiller bust in existence, never learned to spell correctly, and he adds, in an aesthetic apothegm worthy of Lessing: "Was, der Künstler wäre nicht gebildet, er, dem das grosse Geheimniss der Welt, das Walten der Menschenseele und die Entstehung des Lebens sich erschlossen hat? . . . Ihm, dem Bildner fehlte es an Bildung? Er macht sie ja!"

MARSHALL'S PAIN AND PLEASURE.

Pain, Pleasure, and Aesthetics: An Essay concerning the Psychology of Pain and Pleasure, with special reference to Aesthetics, by Henry Rutgers Marshall, M.A. Macmillan & Co. 1894. 8vo, pp. xxi, 364.

MR. MARSHALL'S volume is another indication of the rate at which the tide is rising in our country in matters philosophical. The feelings of pleasure and displeasure form a truly immense portion of the life of Man, but Man's attempts to give to himself some intimate account of their conditions, whether inside or outside of his organism, form a very shabby episode of his achievements in the theoretic line—so shabby, indeed, that one's first impulse is to shy away from any book with the word "Aesthetics" in its title, with the confident expectation that, if read, it could only emphasize once more the gaping contrast between the richness of life and the poverty of all possible formulas. A better day, it is true, has begun to dawn of late, since the high-priori road has been less travelled, and the Kantian, Hegelian, Schopenhauerian, Herbartian, and other Teutonic efforts to reduce the life of aesthetic feeling to some single essential conception, have begun to yield to the more modest study of minute particular effects. But either through hollowness where ambitious, or where solid then through triviality, the outcome of aesthetic theorizing has not been such as to puff one up with pride. Everything that is subtle in our preferences escapes from the accounts that are given; the nature of the pleasure and pain-processes in the nerve-cen-

tres still remains unknown; and the student concludes that the experience of a single strain of melody or verse of poetry, of a single square foot of genuine color, is more important to the soul than the reading of all the books on beauty ever composed.

Now it cannot be said that Mr. Marshall's book quite puts an end to this state of things. No philosophy, however wide its sweep or deep its dive, will ever be a substitute for the tiniest experience of life. But, all allowances made for this necessity, it may well be said that Mr. Marshall's essay is the most successful of all yet published attempts to conceive our pleasures and displeasures under something like a single point of view. It is written with extreme dryness, for hardly a concrete example of a beautiful effect adorns its pages; but one does not feel (as in so many German essays) that this is the dryness of an irreclaimably in-artistic nature on the author's part. It seems rather the respect of an artistic nature (which is also philosophical) for facts to which it knows in advance that philosophy must be inadequate; and the deliberate preference, while philosophizing, to be as abstract as it can, and to leave particulars, with their subtlety, to be disposed of by the concrete man. Beauty, indeed, must be dissected; but the dissecting-room is no place for the living body of her to come in.

This respect for the sacredness of individual likes and dislikes is perhaps Mr. Marshall's most striking feature as an aesthetician. Anything remoter from academic dogmatism cannot be conceived. The beautiful in art or nature is such only because it can give pleasure to somebody. There is not within the field of possible pleasures one tract in which those lie which we call "higher" or "aesthetic," while all outside of these are low and common. All fields of pleasure-getting are within the scope of the aesthetic, provided they befall us in such a way that their after-taste is as agreeable as their first impression. But the revival of a pleasure in our thought need not itself be pleasant, and often does in fact bring with it a consciousness of consequential pain. When this is the case, we do not *judge* the experience as we immediately *felt* it; and non-aesthetic pleasure, or that pleasure which is ephemeral, thus becomes contrasted with aesthetic pleasure, or that which is permanent and unmixed with any source of later pain. The aesthetic value of an experience is thus, for Mr. Marshall, a resultant of its pleasure-giving and pain-giving tendencies in the long run; and any object will have positive aesthetic value (whatever be the sort of pleasure which it yields), provided that pleasure be pure and do not pass into its opposite anon. Thus the *exclusion of secondary displeasures*, of pains, whether of restriction or of excess, is one great principle of beauty, the *elimination of ugly elements* is one great line of progress in the different arts. This by itself, however, could lead only to tame correctness, to the "icily regular, splendidly null." Not only the purity thus reached, but positive and vivid pleasantness must characterize the elements that are left, if we are to have a rich effect; and the conditions both of vivid and of permanent pleasantness are thereupon carefully studied by our author, from whose general theory it follows that contrasts, releases of inhibition, and satisfactions of expectancy, width and variety of field, with repetition of elements, and shifting centres of interest, must all be present for the maximum of pleasure to be attained.

The general theory just referred to is that of the physiological conditions of pleasure

and pain. Mr. Marshall rejects *in toto* the notion that there may be specific nerves or specific brain-centres for these qualities of consciousness. Since any "content" whatever of consciousness, any sensation, emotion, idea, or volition may be a pleasant experience, and then, the conditions changing, become a painful one (or vice-versa), he prefers to consider pleasure and pain as mere *manners* of experiencing the "content," manners due to modifications in the neural process, whatever it may be, by which the content is brought to our attention. There is no content which under certain circumstances might not come to consciousness in a pleasant, and under other circumstances in a painful, manner. In other words, there is no content which *essentially* is either painful or pleasant. Pleasure and pain are therefore not distinct objects of consciousness, as sensations, relations, emotions, and volitions are; but they are (in Mr. Marshall's decidedly awkward terminology) *quales* of other objects. And more than fifty pages are given up to showing that the usual division of consciousness into three primordial kinds, intellection, pleasure-pain feeling, and conation—all coördinate with each other—is incorrect.

Were there separate nerve-tracts to be shown for the three kinds of consciousness in question, the division would be correct, according to our author. But the pleasure-pain feeling has no separate nerve-tracts, and merely follows the temporary state of nutrition of the tracts for intellection and conation. The fact that all pleasures, whether of sensation, thought, or action, are ephemeral, points to something being *used up* in the case of pleasure. This points to *storage*; and the fact that the too long continuance of any experience produces pain points to the storage-account being *overdrawn* in the case of pain. Mr. Marshall's physiological theory accordingly is this: that when the organs involved in any conscious affection respond with unusual efficiency to the stimulus which excites them, we feel pleasure; and when they respond inefficiently, we feel pain. Efficient response is response great in amount; and it is greatest when the surplus stored force in the nerves is greatest. Inefficient response is small response, due to little or no stored force being available. In other words, pleasure is the concomitant of all copious and free discharges of force; displeasure the concomitant of scanty and difficult discharges.

The number of particulars in our experience which this simple conception covers is surprisingly large, and is followed out by Mr. Marshall with a minuteness, both constructive and polemic, which is altogether admirable. He takes so many things into consideration that in a review like this it is quite impossible to give any impression of his scope. The radical point in his treatment, and the point which all later-coming theories will have to emphasize as he does, is the essentially mutable and shifting character of our enjoyments and displeasures. In the twinkling of an eye they are changed, according to the conditions of rest or fatigue of the organs by which we experience them, the whole secret of epicureanism being to catch the proper moment and interval for pure delight. Another point original with Mr. Marshall is that the pleasure of relief from a tedious experience is felt not in the organs whose functions stop, but in other organs than those which a moment since were giving us displeasure. These other organs, inhibited until now, start into an activity which we realize with gratification,

while the previously taxed organ sinks to rest. The gratification of the new activity is the so-called relief. We think Mr. Marshall much less happy in his account of the "pains of obstruction," which are a class of displeasures as definite as is the class of pleasures of relief. Thwarted or suspended activity leads to craving, and this, says our author, is a pain due to the "gorged condition of the nutritive channels" in the parts whose exercise is inhibited, and in remoter parts upon which these vainly "call for aid." In short, "craving" is due to nutrition "beyond the limits of storage"; but would appear, on these terms, to be a pain whose physiological condition is precisely the reverse of that laid down for pains in Marshall's general law.

In spite of this and other shortcomings, however, we must repeat that no previous writer has given a general formula which covers anything like the same amount of ground. Acquaintance with Mr. Marshall's work will be indispensable to every future student of the subject. His own learning is admirably complete; we cannot name any modern author of consequence of whose writings he has not taken account. The modesty of his tone is also remarkable, considering that his mental temperament is "radical," and that he is fighting for a creation of his own. Apart from its special topic, too, the book is full of shrewd and original psychology. All these qualities render it almost "epoch-making" in the present situation of science. But the definitive value of its teaching is another matter, on which we must confess to some misgivings. First of all, the terms of Marshall's general law, that any nerve-discharge is pleasant when it is greater than that which the stimulus habitually calls forth, are evidently not ultimate. Merely to say that a process exceeds what is habitual is not to give a physical definition of it. Physiologists will certainly not be satisfied with Mr. Marshall's law until they can translate it into their own terms. Only when the habitual comes to signify some determinate form of physiological equilibrium, and the super-habitual another form of process, will they accept it as the expression of a genuine psycho-physic relation. At present, while professing to be physiological, the law is really, they will say, quite "transcendental." An even graver fault, we think, may be imputed to Mr. Marshall: Is not his whole attempt to find a single formula a vicious one? Are the various forms of displeasure of which we are susceptible, rightly to be gathered up under the single name of "pain"? Have such diverse disagreeables as toothache, nausea, nervous anxiety, grief, and the perception of ugliness, anything in common except their common intolerability? And in particular, might not "pain" *par excellence* (the tactile pain of cutting, burning, crushing, and inflammation), and nausea also, well be energies of specific nerves, while the milder and less localized displeasures might be such "*quales*" as Mr. Marshall contends for? The conscious quality is so different in these different cases that mere analogy would naturally lead one to ascribe them to entirely different processes. Is not also the conception of "Aesthetics" far too wide for any profitable treatment in general terms? Have the classically beautiful, the interestingly ingenious, the emotionally exciting, the neatly accurate, the grotesquely unreal, and the humorous, anything in common except that they are *welcome*, and is it likely *a priori* that the welcome is in all cases due to the same kind of process being aroused?

Such doubts, and many others, remain to

haunt one after reading Mr. Marshall's book. They show how rude in these matters human thought still is. In science the first things produced are sweeping theories. Then come special inquiries; and finally sweeping theories again. We believe Mr. Marshall's sweeping theory (although worth more than any previous one) to belong to the earlier and ruder kind; and we suspect that real knowledge of pleasure and pain can for some time to come only grow out of humble study of separate and particular effects.

GEN. JOHN PATERSON.

The Life of John Paterson, Major-General in the Revolutionary Army. By his great-grandson Thomas Egleston, LL.D., Professor of Mineralogy and Metallurgy in the School of Mines of Columbia College. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1894.

It seems not a little strange that a Revolutionary hero "so proper and so soldierly" as Maj.-Gen. John Paterson should have been left to wait till the present year for his proper and his soldierly commemoration. Because of this long delay, the soldier with all his merits, and the biographer with all his industry, must needs pay their respective penalties. Materials which might have been used to heighten the soldier's meed of fame and to lighten the task of his biographers were lost in the burning of Gen. Paterson's house in 1800, and have been left to perish elsewhere by slow decay under a lack of the requisite biographical interest in his renown among even his lineal descendants. When in 1876 Lieut.-Gov. Rockwell was called to deliver a centennial address at the town of Lenox, Mass., a town of which Gen. Paterson was perhaps the most distinguished citizen, the orator found that at that date the Revolutionary patriot and soldier "had become one of Massachusetts's lost heroes." It was, indeed, the very meagreness of the knowledge then attainable about him that has led to the study and research which have resulted in the present volume. The author confesses that in all his laborious quest he has found comparatively little which has never been published before, but this little is valuable alike for the light it throws on the character of a well-balanced man, and on the peculiarities of the time in which he acted so long, so unambitiously, and yet so conspicuously. The shortest abstract and the briefest chronicle of Gen. Paterson's life and career will suffice to show that he was a man of merit and of mark in his day and generation.

Born at Farmington, Conn., in 1744, and graduated at Yale College in 1762, he was bred to the profession of law while teaching in the public school at New Britain, Conn. Early in 1774 he removed to Lenox, Mass., was at once elected the clerk of that "Propriety," and was sent as its delegate to the General Court of the colony. A leader in the political agitations of the time, he was a member of the Berkshire Convention of 1774 which protested against the ministerial policy of England, and signed the "Solemn League and Covenant" against all commercial dealings with England so long as the oppressive acts of Parliament should remain in force. He was a member of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, which met from time to time in 1774 and 1775. Before the year 1774 ended he had raised a regiment and was commissioned its colonel. Soon after the affairs at Lexington and Concord his regiment was enrolled as a part of the Continental Army. Early in 1776 he was sent with his troop to Canada, but reached our army there

in time only to share in its disasters and miseries. After a short service under Gates he joined the army of Washington, took part in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, was made brigadier-general in 1777, was detailed again under Gates and fought in the battles of Saratoga, wintered with Washington at Valley Forge, held the left flank at the battle of Monmouth, commanded at West Point, and, because of his trustworthiness, was left to serve with the army of observation in the Highlands on the Hudson while Washington marched to Yorktown. He was commissioned major-general in 1783. As he was among the first to join, he was among the last to leave the Continental Army. He was one of the founders of the Society of the Cincinnati. As a major-general of the militia of Massachusetts he defended the cause of law and order in Shays's Rebellion. Removing in 1791 to southwestern New York, he was the first judge of Tioga County, its first delegate in the State Legislature, and its chief justice in 1798. He was elected from his district a member of the U. S. House of Representatives in 1802, and served in it for a single term. When the county of Broome was set off from Tioga, he was made chief justice of Broome, and held that office till his death in 1808.

With the exception of Lafayette he was the youngest officer of his rank in the Revolutionary Army. Because of his legal knowledge and his military capacity selected again and again as a member, sometimes as president, of courts-martial, he was a member of the most historical of all the military tribunals of the Revolution—the tribunal which tried and condemned Major André. In his habits he was, says his biographer, diffident and retiring; in his literary tastes, a man of varied accomplishments; as a lawyer he was sound, as a judge he was as just and conscientious in dispensing justice as he had been faithful and efficient in his military career.

The author has, of course, found it difficult to give unity to a volume which is partly biographical, partly historical, and partly genealogical. And there are signs of haste in its compilation. The binder of the book has misplaced the cut which exhibits one of the bas-reliefs on the battle monument at Freehold, in Monmouth County, N. J., and the author mistakes in saying on page 106 that this monument is situated at Hopewell, N. J., where the military council was held which led to the battle at Monmouth. This is, of course, a slip of the pen. It is hardly accurate to say that the resolution of the Continental Congress recommending the colonies to establish new forms of civil government after the royal authority had practically lapsed throughout the continent was passed on the 15th of May, 1776. The resolution was passed on the 10th of May. It was only a preamble to it which was passed five days later. The biographer becomes obscure by being brief when he says that Gen. Paterson, as a member of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, assembled in its third meeting, "was instructed on the 14th of February, 1775, to bring in a resolution to appoint an agent to go to the Province of Quebec and collect the sentiments of the people there relating to the matters which disturbed the harmony existing between the mother country and her colonies"; that "John Brown was made this agent"; and that "the news which he brought back resulted in the disastrous Canada campaign, which was undertaken under the impression that Canada, like the other colonies, was dissatisfied, and was both likely and willing to join the other colonies in defence of their rights."

The historical facts are that, a month or more before this Congress met, the Massachusetts Provincial Congress of November, 1774, had appointed a committee "to devise means of keeping up a correspondence between this province, Montreal, and Quebec," for the sake of gaining frequent intelligence about the movements in Canada; and persons no less distinguished than John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and Dr. Joseph Warren were made members of this committee. It is true that Gen. Paterson, on the 13th of February, 1775 (not "the 14th of February," as Prof. Egleston writes), was "instructed" to bring in a resolution to appoint an agent to go to the Province of Quebec, but his motion to this effect did not pass. It was recommitted, and he was then instructed to bring in a resolution "empowering the Committee of Correspondence of the Town of Boston to correspond with Quebec, etc., for and in behalf of this province." This resolution was reported and passed on the next day.

It is quite erroneous to suppose that the military operations conducted by the colonies against Canada "resulted" from the news which John Brown sent back to the Boston committee of correspondence. As the place which Canada held in the political and military strategy of the early Revolutionary period seems to be as little understood by Prof. Egleston as it was by Dr. Stille in his 'Life of Anthony Wayne,' we shall perhaps be pardoned if we seek to set this matter in what seems to us its true light.

Any one familiar with only the speeches of Edmund Burke on the parliamentary taxation which led to the Revolution, will remember that the whole change of ministerial policy in the matter of such taxation dated from the conquest of Canada by Great Britain, and was caused by it. "The first glimmerings of the new colony system began to dawn," Burke tells us, immediately on the close of the war which resulted in the conquest of Canada from the French, with its consequent unification of all the Atlantic colonies under British authority after the Treaty of 1763. At that period, he adds, "the necessity was established of keeping up no less than twenty new regiments, with twenty colonels capable of seats in the House of Commons," not at all because of any further danger from foreign attempts against the peace of the colonies, but simply in order to keep the colonies in subjection to the mother country. Then it was, says Burke, that Townshend began to dazzle the country gentlemen of the House, "great patrons of economy," with "the image of a revenue to be raised in America." The colonists took note of this change, and of the motives which had led to it. William Samuel Johnson, the Colonial Agent of Connecticut, wrote from London to Jonathan Trumbull in June, 1767, that too many of the British rulers at that time "seemed to indulge haughty ideas of empire, and [to think] that America should be made entirely subservient to the dignity, plunder, and general emolument of this country."

The leaders of the American Revolution were well advised of the part which the conquest of Canada had had in precipitating this change of colonial policy. John Adams refers to the fact again and again, not with more clearness than others, but perhaps with a more emphatic iteration. As Canada was designed to be a *point d'appui* for the support of the ministerial policy in asserting British parliamentary supremacy over all the colonies south of it, and as Canada could easily lend itself to the support of such ministerial supremacy because

of its dominating position, and because the Indian tribes of the North and Northwest could be wielded from that position for the intimidation of the provinces southward on the Atlantic border, it was seen at once that as Canada had become the key of the new political and military strategy of Great Britain for purposes of offence, so Canada must be made the key of political and military strategy in the hands of the early Revolutionary leaders for purposes of defence. So clear was this position of Canada, whether for purposes of offence or defence at this juncture, that we find Dr. Samuel Johnson hinting with a caustic sneer in his Tory pamphlet of 1775, 'Taxation no Tyranny,' that the British Ministry might see the refractory colonists brought "at their feet" by restoring Canada to the French (that the colonists "might have an enemy so near them"), and by "encouraging the Indians now and then to plunder a plantation." He recognized this caustic proposal to be a "wild" one, but it was, he said, no wilder than the idea that Americans should not be governed and taxed for Great Britain's benefit, after Great Britain had fought and conquered for their safety from French domination in Canada.

On the 22d of October, 1775, we find Richard Henry Lee writing to Gen. Washington: "Before this reaches you, you will have heard of Col. Allen's unlucky attempt upon Montreal, nor have we from the last accounts much prospect of success from St. John's. The ministerial dependence on Canada is so great that no object can be of greater importance to North America than to defeat them there. It appears to me that we must have that country with us this winter, cost what it will." And a few days later, October 26, 1775, we find Gen. Washington writing to Gen. Schuyler, as he was moving to the support of Gen. Montgomery: "The more I reflect upon the importance of your expedition, the greater is my concern lest it should sink under insuperable difficulties. I look upon the interests and salvation of our bleeding country, in a great degree, to depend upon your success." Moreover, the conquest of Canada was deemed essential to protect the natural right of the New England colonies to the fisheries in the Northeast—a right which had to be protected by stipulation in the Treaty of Peace of 1783, after it had failed to be protected by right of conquest in the Revolutionary war.

How all these strategic and economic reasons in favor of the conquest of Canada were intensified by the passage of the Quebec Bill (a bill which had for its object, as the Continental Congress charged, to substitute the institutes of French customary law for the common law of England, and thereby "to make Canadians proper instruments for assisting in the oppression of such as differ from them in modes of government and faith"), is matter of too common knowledge to call for more than mention. Just as little need we more than mention the difficult and ambiguous rôle which the Revolutionary agitators were called to play when, in their addresses to the people of Canada, they invited friendly cooperation, while in their Address to the people of England they inveighed against the Quebec Bill because, in reestablishing the Roman Catholic religion in its ancient rights, that bill, they said, had reestablished a religion "fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets." That the Roman Catholics of Canada could not contain their resentment, and broke out in curses on what they called "a perfidious and double-faced Congress," when they read this address in the translations

distributed among them, we may see in the letters of that day (Force's Archives, vol. ii., p. 231). John Brown was far from being always over-sanguine in his reports, whatever he might write to Gov. Trumbull or others. He wrote to the Boston Committee of Correspondence on the 29th of March, 1775, that there was "no prospect of Canada's sending delegates to the Continental Congress." We know from the minutes of the Continental Congress that others than John Brown brought reports from Canada direct to that body. How little John Brown had to do with procuring or even precipitating the campaign against Canada in 1775 and 1776 might have been inferred from the fact that the Continental Congress revived the whole project of "the emancipation of Canada" in 1779, discussed at length with Gen. Washington (through a select committee raised for the purpose) the military combinations which might then be deemed essential to that end, and abandoned the enterprise only with great reluctance, while still pledging themselves to "embrace with alacrity every favorable incident which should facilitate and hasten the freedom and independence of Canada, and her union with these States."

Prof. Egleston gives a whole chapter to the history of Shays's Rebellion and of the part which Gen. Paterson took in its suppression. We entirely concur with the author in holding that the conduct of Paterson was not blameworthy because at one time, in the course of his operations, he promised some of the insurgents that if they would disperse they might remain peaceably at their homes, and, if tried at all, should be tried in their own counties. Gen. Lincoln, the commander-in-chief of the State militia, had promised as much to certain insurgents whom he had paroled, and this proceeding of his was subsequently approved by the State Legislature. Perhaps Gen. Paterson, in the reaction which followed the rebellion, was blamed because he had not lived up to a threat contained in a postscript to one of his letters addressed to Gen. Lincoln from Lanesborough, in which, under date of February 5, 1787, he had said that if he should judge it practicable to attack the insurgents in Berkshire County with a probability of success, he would not "wait the determination of the General Court that they are in a state of rebellion, but would consider them as such and act accordingly." By thundering so loud in the index, he made it a little difficult for himself to defend his lenity, and to show the consistency with which he had practised it on "rebels" who, without his knowing it, had been formally declared such just one day before he launched this menace at them in the despatch to his commander.

We may say, in closing, that Gen. Paterson in one of his letters during the Shays Rebellion uses a word which is new to us. Writing about what seemed to him a better political outlook in the early part of 1787, he says: "I most sincerely congratulate you on the happy prospects which are before us in the aristocratization of legal and constitutional government." The biographer, too, takes liberty with both history and philology when, in describing the sufferings of our troops in Canada from smallpox in 1776, he uses the word "vaccination" as convertible in meaning and currency with the word "inoculation."

The Animal as a Machine and a Prime Motor, and the Laws of Energetics. By R. H. Thurston. John Wiley & Sons. 1894.

In this little book Prof. Thurston pursues that

way of attacking the Second Law of Thermodynamics (or, as he prefers to call it, the Law of Carnot) which is his own. That law is that heat flows from hot bodies to cold, as water runs down hill; so that when bodies are all cooled down to one level of temperature, the heat in them above the absolute zero is no more available to run an engine than is the height of the sea above the centre of the earth available to turn a water-wheel. At one time great ingenuity was expended to discover some exception to the Second Law of Thermodynamics; but the only exception which withstood examination was the hypothesis of Maxwell. Maxwell supposed a diaphragm in a vessel to separate two portions of air; and that in this diaphragm was a little sliding door at which should sit a tiny doorkeeper who should look out for the very fast-moving molecules coming one way and for the very slow-moving ones coming the other way, and open the door for these and for no others. In that way the air on one side would become heated, and that on the other side cooled. It was the first time an advantageous route for science had been found through fairy-land; and when it was further remarked that, by replacing the little door by a lobby with two doors and putting a fan-wheel in the lobby, an engine could be run directly, the analogy to the running of a water-wheel by the gravitational energy of the ocean became striking. Prof. Thurston considers our inability to use the great heat above the absolute zero of ordinary objects to be a shocking waste; and one of the chief purposes of this little book is to adduce evidence that living animals are machines in which the Second Law of Thermodynamics is "evaded." Inasmuch as he says the Law of Carnot "asserts the necessity of waste," and further says this waste does not take place in the living machinery, perhaps "violated" would have been a clearer word than "evaded."

Prof. Thurston certainly succeeds in showing that, accepting extant experiments upon animals (and they are both elaborate and numerous) for what they may be worth, they distinctly point towards some violation of accepted laws of energy. Thus the careful experiments of Hirn showed that more heat by a third part was generated by the human body than the combustion of food would account for. Moreover, when Hirn compared the amount of work a man performed with the reduction of the heat generated while he was at work below what was generated at the same time while he was at rest, he obtained a result which Prof. Thurston argues is contrary to accepted laws of thermodynamics. "The animal system," he says, speaking of it as a motor, "conceals some secrets that science has still to discover." Dr. Pavy's well-known experiment on two pedestrians is also cited to show that "the body as a heat engine is capable, apparently, of performing more work than the food would seem competent to do." Dr. Austin Flint failed to explain from known physical principles the results of his experiments upon the pedestrian Weston in a walk of 310 miles.

Prof. Thurston's conclusion is, not that there is any inaccuracy in the law of the conservation of energy, which rests with him upon metaphysical grounds, but that the Law of Carnot is somehow "evaded." If the mechanical conception of the universe, that all that exists is expressible in terms of mass, space, and time, upon which Helmholtz rested his celebrated enunciation, be accepted, it is known that the "Law of Carnot" follows as a corollary. By the majority of physicists the alternative will be felt to be either, on the

one hand, to suppose that all the observations that have been made upon animals are subject to a common error, due to the same cause, whatever that may be; or, accepting the experimental evidence, to conclude that the law of the conservation of energy is not exactly fulfilled in living animal bodies. The Law of Carnot was enunciated long before the law of the conservation of energy, and, if it be regarded as the assertion that the average motions of the different parts of a system tend to equalize themselves or to approach final ratios, is incontestably quite as certain as the law of energy.

Prof. Langley has recently taught us how one of the great wonders of the animal world—that of the soaring bird—is performed. Now, if we are to take his successful explanation as a model by which to explain other animal marvels, it must be confessed that the way the bird turns this way or that way to take advantage of the lulls and puffs of the wind, is not unlike the opening and shutting of the doors of Maxwell's devils, thus affording some comfort to Prof. Thurston. The book has, at any rate, the merit of calling attention to one of those residual unexplained phenomena in the patient study of which, not in blind denial of them, the progress of science consists.

Crumbling Idols. By Hamlin Garland. Chicago and Cambridge: Stone & Kimball.

In these twelve essays, dealing with art, literature, "and the drama," Mr. Garland recites his credo to whosoever will listen. Its articles have two broad divisions—the renunciation of the past and all its works, and the belief in what is to come out of "the mighty spaces of the West" and its "swarming mil-

lions of young men and women." Veritism is the name in which devils are to be cast out, and the artist himself is to be a veritist, to whom the "satyriatic French novelist" will be anathema maranatha no less than the "blind fetishism, timid provincialism, or commercial greed which puts the work of" the masters "above the living, breathing artist." Shakspeare, in fact, "lies, sunk and sinking, just as every other human soul sinks into the sand." And, again, "Shakspeare, Wordsworth, Dante, Milton, are fading away into mere names—books we should read but seldom do." Yet their spirits have not departed into an unpeopled limbo, for even "the veritist and the impressionist will try to submit gracefully to the method of the iconoclast who shall come when they in their turn are old and sad." These things being so, is it a sign of narrow consistency if the reader ask, Why, then, say elsewhere that "the surest way to write for all time is to embody the present in the finest form with the highest sincerity and with the frankest truthfulness"?

"Contemporaneity," one finds, is the white robe of Mr. Garland's artistic faith, and mediocrity its palm branch, for "our national literature will come to its fulness when the common American rises spontaneously to the expression of his concept of life," and in that day "there will be no overtopping personalities in art," nor ever again "will any city dominate American literature." Instead, the real novelist of the elect sections "is walking behind the plough or trudging to school in these splendid potential environments," while "the novel of the slums must be written by one who has played there as a child, and taken part in all its amusements; not out of curiosity, but

out of pleasure-seeking." And finally, from the "interior spaces" of the West comes the confession, "We propose to discard your nipping accent, your nice phrases, your balanced sentences, and your neat proprieties inherited from the eighteenth century. Our speech is to be as individual as our view of life."

Mr. Garland has written both prose and verse wherewith to illuminate his creed, and by them it should be judged no less than by its naked enunciation. The practice of most men is notoriously better than the worst of their dogmas, and Mr. Garland will not be found an exception to the rule. If one might venture to advise so bold and confident a spirit, it would be to make, in the name of the breadth he now and again eloquently advocates, yet another essay of the culture at present pronounced by him sterile, false, and dying.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Academy Architecture, 1894. Scribners. \$2.
Bates, Arlo. The Torch Bearers. Boston: Roberts Bros. 50 cents.
Clark, J. W. Libraries in the Medieval and Renaissance Periods. Macmillan. \$1.
Dunning, Rev. A. E. Congregationalists in America. J. A. Hill & Co. \$2.75.
Emmet, W. Le R. Alternating Current Wiring and Distribution. The Electrical Engineer.
Forney, M. N. Political Reform by the Representation of Minorities. The Author.
Gardner, Sarah M. H. Quaker Idylls. Henry Holt & Co. 75 cents.
Hobson, J. A. The Evolution of Modern Capitalism. London: Walter Scott; New York: Scribners. \$1.25.
Lee, Sidney. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. XXXIX. Morehead-Myles. Macmillan. \$3.75.
McCracken, W. P. Romance Switzerland. Teutonic Switzerland. 2 vols. Boston: Joseph Knight Co.
Nitti, F. S. Population and the Social System. London: Sonnenschein; New York: Scribners. \$1.
O'Neill, Moira. An Easter Vacation. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$1.25.
Pinkerton, Percy. Adriatics. London: Gay & Bird.
Rawnsley, Rev. H. D. Literary Associations of the English Lakes. 2 vols. Macmillan. \$4.
Saunders, Bailey. Life and Letters of James Macpherson. London: Sonnenschein; New York: Macmillan. \$2.50.

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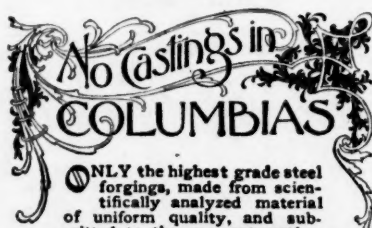
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